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HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

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DEDICATED

TO THE LATE

M. R. PARANJPE

WHO LIVED AND DIED IN THE SERVICE OF
INDIAN EDUCATION

PREFACE

THE publication of this book hardly needs an apology. The books that are available on the subject fall broadly into two classes: some are selections or collections of original documents which are too voluminous to be within the reach of the average student, while the others are neither up-to-date nor written from the Indian point of view. This book, which attempts to give a well-documented and comprehensive account of Indian educational history during the last one hundred and sixty years and to interpret it from the Indian point of view, will, we trust, meet a very real need.

We are indebted to several publications, the more important of which have been given in the *acknowledgments*. We would like specially to mention here J. Richter's *A History of Missions in India* and Mr. A. N. Basu's complete edition of *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar* (1835-38), both of which provide excellent material to all students of the History of Indian Education.

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Bombay,
7th June, 1943.

SYED NURULLAH.
J. P. NAIK.

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on Educational Policy, 11th March, 1904; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1907-12; *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1913; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1912-17; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1917-22; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1922-27; *Review of Growth of Education in British India*, by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1929; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1927-32; *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1932-37; *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, 1902; *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, 1917-19; *Proceedings of the First Conference of Indian Universities*, Simla, 1924; *Proceedings and Publications of the Inter-University Board*; *History of Elementary Education in India*, by J. M. Sen; *History of the Local Fund Cess*, by J. P. Naik; *Studies in Primary Education*, by J. P. Naik; *Mass Education in India*, by R. V. Parulekar; *Literacy in India*, by R. V. Parulekar; *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18; *Report of the Committee on Indian Students in England*, 1921-22; *Indian Provincial Finance*, by B. R. Mishra; *The Evolution of Provincial Finance*, by B. R. Ambedkar; *Government of India*, by Sir C. Ilbert; *England and India*, by R. C. Dutt; *Education in India*, by Howell; *On the Education of the People of India*, by Trevelyan; *Poverty and the British Rule in India*, by Dadabhai Naoroji; *Gokhale's Speeches* (1920 edition); *Indian Constitution*, by P. Mukerjee; and *Source Book of Education*, by M. R. Paranjpe (Macmillan).

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INTRODUCTION

THE history of the evolution of the modern system of education in India[1] may be likened to a great drama.

The *setting* for this play is provided, not only by the social, political, and constitutional history of India, but also by the social, political, and educational developments in contemporary England. Several Indian institutions were planned on similar institutions in England; often the controversies in Indian education arose from contemporary controversies in English education; and oftener still, a change in the educational policy of England had

[1] India is politically divided into two parts—British India and Indian India. The former is divided into eleven major provinces and a few smaller units of administration and the latter into about 700 States which vary largely in area, population, and revenue. The most important of these are Hyderabad, Gwalior, Baroda, Mysore, Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin and Indore. This book deals with India as a whole in so far as university education is concerned. In other fields, it deals mainly with British India.

Some of the Indian States have undertaken interesting educational experiments and a few are educationally more progressive than British India itself. For instance, Hyderabad conducts a university teaching through Urdu; Baroda introduced compulsory elementary education throughout the state in 1906; Travancore and Cochin are the most advanced parts of India in so far as mass education is concerned. But such exceptions apart, it may be stated that education in Indian States has generally developed on the same lines as in British India.

It has not been possible for us to give statistics of secondary and primary education in Indian States because these are not readily available. The quinquennial reviews of education in India published by the Central Government used to give such statistics for a few States until 1911-12, but that system has since been abandoned. Statistics of secondary and primary education in India as a whole are, therefore, not available for students of educational history and one has to be content with a detailed account of the educational developments in British India only. There is, however, little need to regret this deficiency. The Indian States have generally imitated the educational system of British India and the history of education given in this book may well be taken to represent, in broad outline, the educational history of India as a whole.

its echoes in Indian education, sooner or later. An attempt to understand Indian educational policy apart from this background is like trying to understand an effect without knowing the cause. An effort has, therefore, been made in this book to present this setting as clearly as possible and to correlate it to the various stages of the educational advance of India.

The *conflict* of the drama lies in the struggle between the Old and the New, between the effort—however well-intentioned it might have been—by non-Indians to impose a cheap imitation of the British educational system on India and the desire of the people of the country to create a new system to meet their own peculiar needs and problems. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the indigenous system of education held the field. Soon afterwards missionaries began to spread Western knowledge and to encourage the study of the English language and literature. They were joined by the officials of Government and a few enlightened Indians who were either educated under the new system or valued its advantages, and between the combined efforts of these three sets of workers, the modern educational system saw the light of the day. It thrived quickly for several reasons: To begin with, the British people of the Victorian era complacently believed that their language, literature, and educational methods were the best in the world and that India could do no better than adopt them *in toto*. *Secondly,* the Indians of this period, on their part, were dazzled by their first contact with Western civilization and believed that their country could do no better than imitate the British model; and *thirdly,* the system attained an artificial popularity and importance because the young men and women educated under it were freely employed in Government service. By the

end of the nineteenth century, therefore, the old indigenous system of education disappeared almost completely from the field and a new system of education, which aimed at the spread of Western knowledge through the medium of the English language, was firmly established in its place.

But a reaction soon set in. The sudden and great rise of other nations, such as Japan, exercised a profound influence on Indian public opinion, especially after the termination of the Russo-Japanese War, and made people look askance at the slow and unsatisfactory development of Indian education; a new spirit was gaining ground and, unlike the men of the earlier era, the Indians of the twentieth century began to study with reverence the cultural history of their own land; the Great War of 1914-18 revealed to the world that there was something radically wrong with the civilization of the West and made people sceptical about the utility of the wholesale imitation of Western models. The net result was that Indians gave up the attempt to imitate England *in toto*, and began to consider the creation of a new system of education more suited to their needs. Some of their attempts, such as the Visva-Bharati, or the Jamia-Millia, worked outside the official system, while others, like the Benares or Aligarh Universities, worked within it. A characteristic common to both, however, was the desire to *create* rather than to *imitate*.

An attempt has been made in this book to show the various aspects of this conflict and to trace its history.

The *actors* in this drama may be divided into three groups—the missionaries, the European Officers of the Education Department and the Indian people. To the missionaries belongs the honour of being pioneers in the modern educational system of India and even today they

are doing some pioneer work in several branches of social service that have not yet attracted Indian workers on a sufficiently large scale. The European Officials of the Education Department came upon the scene in 1855 and dominated the whole educational field until very recently. The Indian people themselves were the last to enter the stage. They began, in the early nineteenth century, by collecting funds for the establishment of "modern" educational institutions, and, later on, undertook to direct and conduct them. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, they demanded Indianization of the educational services. But the political outlook soon widened and the demand for the power to control and direct educational policies was next put forward—a demand that was partly fulfilled in 1921 and more completely in 1937. At the present moment, the whole field of educational activity is almost Indianized. The missionary societies are transferring their institutions to Indian Christians; the recruitment to the Indian Educational Service was stopped a long time ago and most of the officials of the Education Department are now Indians; the bulk of the educational institutions is controlled by private Indian enterprise; and an autonomous provincial ministry has the power to lay down the policy of educational advance. The story of this great revolution forms an important part of the history of Indian education as presented in this book.

The drama is divided into five Acts.

The *first* Act of the drama opens about the beginning of the eighteenth century and closes with the Charter Act of 1813. Although the East India Company was established in 1600 A.D., it undertook no educational activities for nearly one hundred years of its existence. Its attention was first drawn to educational matters by

the Charter Act of 1698 which required it to maintain priests and schools in its garrisons ; but even these provisions were meant more for the children of the Company's European servants than for the Indian people. There is no need, however, to be surprised at this unwillingness of the Company to undertake the responsibility of educating Indians. It was mainly a trading concern and a body of merchants cannot be expected to educate the people it trades with.

Circumstances altered considerably by the middle of the eighteenth century. The Company had, by this time, emerged successful from the struggle with its European competitors—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French—and the grant of the *Diwani* in 1765 made it a ruling power in India. It was only *then* that the Company was called upon to encourage education among its subjects as the earlier Hindu and Muslim rulers had done. But the Court of Directors naturally drew their inspiration from English models rather than from Hindu or Muslim traditions and, as Parliament itself did nothing to educate the English people, the Company also refused to recognise any obligation on its part for the education of Indians.

The conflict of this Act, therefore, centred mainly round two issues. *Firstly,* there was a conflict between the unwillingness of the Directors of the Company to accept responsibility for the education of the Indians, and the agitation of their officers in India, mainly on grounds of political exigency, to persuade them to accept it. *Secondly,* there also arose a conflict between the desire of the missionaries to go to India to spread Christianity and the unwillingness of the Court of Directors to admit them to their territories for fear that their proselytizing activities might arouse the opposition

of the people. It was only after a prolonged agitation that the Company was compelled, by the Charter Act of 1813, to accept responsibility for the education of Indians, to incur some expenditure for the fulfilment of this object, and to admit missionaries to its dominions for spreading Western 'light and knowledge'. This was the beginning of the State system of education in India under the British rule.

The *second* Act of the drama opens in 1813 and closes with Wood's Education Despatch of 1854. It is mainly a period of controversies and experiments.

The conflict of this Act lies between two schools of thought. One of these, which was represented by Macaulay, believed in the *substitution* of Western culture for the Indian and desired to create a class of persons who would be 'Indians in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'. This school consisted mostly of the missionaries whose main aim was that of proselytization, and of the younger servants of the Company who were brought up in the traditions of the Romantic Revival and were consequently impatient to sweep out the Old and to sweep in the New. The other school believed in a *synthesis* of the Eastern and Western cultures. It consisted of the older servants of the Company who were brought up in the traditions of Hastings and Minto and most of the Indians who took an interest in education. Unfortunately, this party was divided within its own fold. One section, which held the field in Bengal, believed that such a synthesis could be brought about by spreading Western science and knowledge through the medium of Indian classical languages, while the other section, which held the field in Bombay, believed that the best method of bringing about a synthesis lay in spreading

Western science and knowledge through the spoken languages of the people, enriched by a study of the Indian classical languages.

These fundamental issues were greatly confused in the controversies of this period and 'the confusion became worse confounded by the failure to distinguish English as a medium from English as a subject of instruction'. Violent controversies, therefore, ranged round the following four topics:—

(1) What should be the *object* of the educational policy —to spread Western knowledge or to preserve Eastern learning ?

(2) What should be the *medium of instruction*—English, Sanskrit or Arabic, or the modern Indian languages ?

(3) What should be the *agency* for the spread of education—the mission schools, the institutions directly controlled by the Company, or the indigenous schools conducted by Indians themselves ?

(4) What should be the *method* of spreading education —should Government try to educate the masses directly, *or* should it only educate a few Indians and leave it to them to educate the others ?

The Despatch of 1854 set these conflicts at rest for the time being by declaring that the main object of the educational system was to spread Western knowledge and science, although it was desirable to grant some encouragement to Oriental learning at the collegiate stage; that both English and the spoken languages of the people should be used as media of instruction at the secondary stage; that as Government could never have the funds to provide for all the educational needs of the country, the bulk of its educational institutions would have to be organized by private bodies—whether missionary or Indian; and that the efforts of Govern-

ment should cease to be directed to the education of the few and that the education of the masses should, in future, be regarded as a duty of the State. With the receipt of this important document of educational history, the curtain falls upon the second Act of the drama.

The *third* Act opens in 1854 and closes in 1900. It is a period of rapid *Westernization* of the educational system but of *Indianization* of its agency.

This Act has two conflicts. The major conflict arose between the indigenous system of education on the one hand and the new system created by Wood's Education Despatch on the other. It was at first hoped that such a conflict would not arise and that indigenous schools would be wisely encouraged and incorporated in the official system of education. But for several reasons, these hopes did not materialize. The officials of those days generally neglected these institutions out of utter contempt; in some instances attempts at improvement were made which, though well-meant, were so ill-advised as to lead rather to destruction than to improvement; in several cases, pressure was brought upon parents to withdraw their children from indigenous schools and to send them to the departmental ones.[1] These errors of commission and omission combined with the patronage that was extended to the new system by the free employment of persons trained in it in Government service led to the almost complete extinction of the indigenous system of education; and by 1900, practically all the institutions of higher education used English as the medium of instruction and aimed at the spread of Western knowledge and science.

[1] *Vide* para 27 on p. 105 of *Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present,* by Sir Philip Hartog.

The minor conflict of this Act arose between the agencies that undertook the spread of Western education in India. In 1854, this task had been mostly assumed by Europeans who came to India either as missionaries or as servants of the Company. Indians educated in the Western system were neither available in large numbers nor were they considered to be fit to conduct English schools or colleges. Hence, Indian educational efforts were mostly limited to the collection of funds and to the conducting of schools and colleges under European headmasters or principals requisitioned from abroad.

In 1880, however, circumstances were considerably altered and three different agencies for the spread of education grew up and began to compete for supremacy. The first of these was the agency of the mission schools and colleges; the second was that of the educational institutions organized by the Education Departments, and the third was the small beginning of the private effort of Indians themselves. The Indian Education Commission was called upon to weigh the relative merits of each of these agencies and to decide upon the best mode of spreading education in India. It opined that missionary enterprise could only occupy a subordinate place in Indian education; that departmental institutions were too costly to be multiplied; that it would be in the best interests of a poor country like India to close them or transfer them to private enterprise; and that the efforts of Government should be mainly directed to the encouragement of private Indian enterprise as the best means of spreading education in India.

These recommendations were generally acted upon by the Provincial Governments, and the twenty years between 1880 and 1900 saw such a great development

of private schools and colleges conducted by Indians that, in 1901-02, Indian private enterprise was the most important agency for spreading Western education among the people.

The *fourth* Act opens in 1901 with the conference of the Directors of Public Instruction convened by Lord Curzon at Simla and closes in 1921 with the transfer of education to the control of Indian Ministers.

The twenty years between 1901 and 1921 were a period of intense and ever-increasing political unrest in India. The Bengal Partition Movement, the Morley-Minto Reforms, the World War, the Non-Co-operation Movement, and such other events, led to a great political awakening and discontent and it is out of these major political conflicts that the educational conflicts of the period saw the light of the day.

Secondly, it has to be noted that, during this period, both Indian and European educationists were greatly dissatisfied with the educational system. One section of thinkers—the officials mostly belonged to this—believed that the quality of education had materially deteriorated since 1880; that schools and colleges under private management had generally been unable to maintain discipline; that educated Indians had been unable to digest an exotic culture; that the ideal of spreading Western knowledge and science had outlived its utility; and that the educational system ought to aim at training men and women of character and be replanned accordingly. This class of educationists attributed most of these defects to the policy of expansion and *laissez faire* to private enterprise which had been pursued since the report of the Indian Education Commission, and recommended that Government should now aim at control and

improvement of schools and colleges rather than at increasing their number.

The other school of thinkers—which included most of the enlightened Indians—still believed in the wisdom of the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission. They were not unwilling to concede that education had deteriorated, but to them quality was not everything. They felt that the spread of Western knowledge was essential for creating a renaissance in Indian national life and advocated a very rapid expansion of higher education on a voluntary basis and the introduction of compulsory elementary education for the masses. This school of thinkers argued that private enterprise ought to be given full freedom to grow and that a policy of control and improvement would be suicidal to the best interests of the country.

It was the conflict between these two widely different schools of thought that makes up the fourth Act of this great drama. The conflict began first at the University stage. Battles royal were fought over the Indian Universities Commission of 1902, and the Indian Universities Act of 1904, and resulted in an almost complete victory for the protagonists of the theory of control and improvement of quality. The conflict then spread to the secondary stage and again this party obtained a great victory when the revised grant-in-aid codes were framed between 1904 and 1908. Lastly, the conflict reached the primary stage and an intensive struggle arose over Gokhale's bill for introducing compulsory elementary education. The party won for the third time and the bill was thrown out by a large majority. As may be easily anticipated, however, these 'victories' led to considerable embitterment of public feeling and the Indian nationalist opinion began to demand the power

to control the educational policy of the country. It was to satisfy this demand that the Department of Education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers in 1921.

The *fifth* Act of this drama opens in 1921 and closes in 1937 when the Government of India Act of 1935 introduced Provincial Autonomy in eleven provinces of British India. It is a period of first experiments under Indian control.

A burst of enthusiasm, the transfer of education to Indian control, and many long-desired changes marked the opening of this Act. The political conflicts of the earlier period ceased to exist; all further recruitment to the Indian Educational Service was discontinued, power being given to each province to organize its own educational services; and the control and supervision which the Government of India used to exercise over the details of administration came to an end. Consequently the Provincial Governments had much greater freedom to plan programmes of educational expansion and improvements, and the earlier part of this period thus witnessed the undertaking of several new schemes, the sanctioning of increased grants to education, and a rapid increase in the enrolment of scholars.

Unfortunately, however, a number of serious difficulties soon presented themselves and darkened the horizon. The financial arrangements introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, enriched the Central Government at the cost of Provincial Governments; the special grants to education which were liberally sanctioned by the Government of India in the period 1901 to 1921 were suddenly discontinued; and the situation was made almost desperate by the world economic depression which affected the major portion of this period.

Consequently, most of the new schemes undertaken had to be given up and drastic retrenchment had to be made even in the existing expenditure on education.

These financial difficulties gave a great set-back to the enthusiasm with which this Act opened. A still greater set-back, however, was given by the idealogical conflicts that arose in this period. One school of thought advocated that India should concentrate on quality and consolidate one position before another was attacked. The other school advocated a rapid expansion of education and a planned and determined attempt to liquidate mass illiteracy. These conflicts, which, as we have seen above, had really begun in the earlier period, came to a head with the report of the Hartog Committee in 1929 and were in full swing when the Act came to an end in 1937.

With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, a new page is turned in the history of India and the three years between 1937 and 1940 form an extremely crowded hour in educational history. Even during this short period, larger funds for education were made available; schemes for the expansion of primary education, the introduction of compulsion, and the liquidation of adult illiteracy were undertaken; the Wardha Scheme of education was introduced; and a great fillip was given to physical and vocational education. This book does not, however, make an attempt to narrate these events. They are too recent to be termed 'history' and most of them are experiments which have not yet passed the stage of controversies.

The object of this book is to narrate, in broad outline, the main events of the five Acts of the drama described above which cover a period of about one hundred and sixty years from the establishment of the Calcutta Mad-

ressah in 1781 to the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937. The book does not attempt to trace the history of individual movements such as the Arya Samaj movement among the Hindus, or the Aligarh movement among the Muslims. Nor does it aim at narrating such special aspects of the problem as the spread of education among Muslims, among women, and among the backward communities. But subject to these limitations, the book attempts to give a full and comprehensive review of each critical stage in educational history, to explain the *raison d'etre* of each important decision and the consequences thereof, and to show how the present educational system has gradually come to be built up. The review is so designed as to assist, not only in understanding the present, but also in pointing out the main lines of future reform and reorganization.

One special feature of this book may be pointed out here. The reader will notice that the book is interspersed with a large number of quotations. These have been included for several reasons. Some are included because their original sources are now out of print and inaccessible to the average student; some others are included with a view to introducing the reader to the vast amount of literature in original documents that is available on the subject; but many have been included because they help to portray vividly the conflicts of a bygone day and the ideals that inspired the fighters on either side. For, in a historical drama of this type, it is always a great advantage to give full freedom to the actors to speak for themselves.

CHAPTER I

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN INDIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (MADRAS AND BOMBAY)

THE object of this book is to trace the development of the modern system of education in India which, except for a few isolated educational institutions that will be referred to later, may be said to have begun with the Charter Act of 1813 which provided that "a sum of not less than a lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India".[1] But before turning to the subject proper, it is necessary to study the indigenous system of education as it existed in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This study will enable us to ascertain the merits and defects of the system and the potentialities it had for growing into a national system of education by suitable improvement and extension.

2. **Sources of Information.** It is unfortunate that the sources of information regarding the character and extent of the indigenous system of education in the earlier half of the nineteenth century are extremely meagre. In the first place, the available sources refer only to British territories which, at that time, formed but a small part of India, and we have next to no data regarding the vast remaining area which was under the rule of several Indian potentates. Secondly, our sources do not even cover the whole of the area that was then under the

[1] *Sec. 43.*

British rule. In Madras, an inquiry into indigenous education was ordered by Sir Thomas Munro in 1822 and the information obtained refers to all districts except that of Kanara. In Bombay, a similar enquiry was ordered by Mount-Stuart Elphinstone in 1823 and statistics were obtained through the collectors for the whole of the Province. In Bengal, a special enquiry into indigenous education was conducted in 1835-8, under the orders of Lord William Bentinck, by William Adam—a missionary who had devoted himself to the cause of Indian education. Adam submitted three reports of which the first is a digest of the earlier reports on the subject, the second is a thorough enquiry of one *Thana* in the district of Rajshahi and the third gives statistics of five districts in Bengal and Bihar out of a total of nineteen. It will thus be seen that any conclusions regarding the indigenous system of education in India, as a whole, must be based on the assumption that the area covered by the three enquiries referred to above is a fair sample of the whole countryside. Such an assumption is obviously not very sound from the statistical point of view; but it becomes inevitable in the absence of any other data.

What pains a student of history, however, is not so much the inadequacy of the data as its defects from the statistical or other points of view. The enquiries in Madras and Bombay were most unsatisfactory in so far as accuracy and thoroughness are concerned and it will be shown later that they included neither *all* the schools in existence nor *all* the pupils under instruction. Adam's enquiries, on the other hand, were thorough and almost flawless. But they were conducted in a Province which had been subjected to general anarchy for a very long time and where the system of indigenous education,

as Adam himself pointed out, was everywhere in a state of decay. The conclusions of Adam, therefore, are not quite applicable to those parts of India which had the good fortune to enjoy a more or less settled Government. These defects in the investigation will, therefore, have to be duly allowed for in forming a fair picture of the indigenous system of education as it existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

3. **The Enquiry in Madras.** The first of the three enquiries mentioned above was that undertaken by Sir Thomas Munro in Madras. In a Minute dated the 25th June 1822, he wrote as under :—

> "Much has been written, both in England and in this country, about the ignorance of the people of India and the means of disseminating knowledge among them, but the opinions upon this subject are the mere conjectures of individuals, unsupported by any authentic documents, and differing so widely from each other, as to be entitled to very little attention. Our power in this country, and the nature of its own municipal institutions, have certainly rendered it practicable to collect materials from which a judgment might be formed of the state of the mental cultivation of the people. We have made geographical and agricultural surveys of our provinces; we have investigated their resources, and endeavoured to ascertain their population; but little or nothing has been done to learn the state of education. We have no record to show the actual state of education throughout the country. Partial inquiries have been made by individuals, but those have taken place at distant periods and on a small scale, and no inference can be drawn from them with regard to the country in general. There may be some difficulty in obtaining such a record as we want. Some districts will not, but others probably will, furnish it; and if we get it only from two or three, it will answer, in some degree, for all the rest. It cannot be expected to be very accurate, but it will at least enable us to form an estimate of the state of instruction among the people. *The only record which can furnish the information required is a list of the schools in which reading and writing are taught in each*

district, showing the number of scholars in each, and the caste to which they belong. The collectors should be directed to prepare this document according to the form which accompanies this paper.[1] They should be desired to state the names of the books generally read at the schools; the time which scholars usually continue at such schools; the monthly or yearly charge to the scholars; and whether any of the schools are endowed by the public, and, if so, the nature and amount of the fund. Where there are colleges or other institutions for teaching theology, law, astronomy, etc., an account should be given of them. These sciences are usually taught privately, without fee or reward, by individuals, to a few scholars or disciples; but there are also some instances in which the native governments have granted allowances in money and land for the maintenance of the teachers.

In some districts reading and writing are confined almost entirely to Brahmans and the mercantile class. In some they extend to other classes, and are pretty general among the patails of villages and principal ryots. To the women of Brahmans and of Hindus in general they are unknown, because the knowledge of them is prohibited and regarded as unbecoming the modesty of the sex and fit only for public dancers; but among the women of the Rajbundah and some other tribes of Hindus, who seem to have no prejudice of this kind, they are generally taught. The prohibition against women learning to read is, probably, from various causes, much less attended to in some districts than in others; and it is possible that in every district a few females may be found in the reading schools. A column has been entered for them in the form proposed to be sent to the collector. The mixed and impure castes seldom learn to read; but as a few of them do, columns are left for them in the form."[2]

The information required in this minute was supplied by all collectors except that of Kanara, a summary of whose report is given below in section 5. (Munro himself summed up its results in the following words:—)

("The Board of Revenue were directed by Government on the 2nd July 1822, to ascertain the number of schools, and the state

[1] Italics ours.

[2] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix A.

of education among the natives in the provinces, and with their letter of the 21st February last they transmitted the reports on this subject which they had received from the several collectors. From these reports it appears that the number of schools, and of what are called colleges, in the territories under this Presidency, amount to 12,498, and the population to 12,850,941; so that there is one school to every 1,000 of the population; but as only a very few females are taught in school, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.)

2. It is remarked by the Board of Revenue, that of a population of 12½ millions there are only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education. This is true of the whole population, but not as regards the male part of it, of which the proportion educated is much greater than is here estimated; for if we take the whole population as stated in the report at 12,850,000 and deduct one-half for females, the remaining male population will be 6,425,000; and if we reckon the male population between the ages of five and ten years, which is the period which boys in general remain at school, at one-ninth, it will give 713,000 which is the number of boys that would be at school if all the males above ten years of age were educated; but the number actually attending the school is only 184,110, or little more than one-fourth of that number. I have taken the interval between five and ten years of age as the term of education, because, though many boys continue at school till twelve or fourteen, many leave it under ten. *I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population who receive school education to be nearer to one-third than one-fourth of the whole, because we have no returns from the provinces of the number taught at home.*[1] In Madras[2] the number taught at home is 26,903, or above five times greater than that taught in the schools. There is probably some error in this number, and though the number privately taught in the provinces does certainly not approach this rate, it is no doubt considerable, because the practice of boys being taught at home by their relations or private teachers is not unfrequent in any part of the country. The proportion educated is very different in different classes; in some it is nearly the whole; in others it is hardly one-tenth.

[1] Italics ours.

[2] The word 'Madras' refers to the *city* of Madras and not to the *Province* of Madras. Vide *Some Aspects of Indian Education* by Sir Philip Hartog, p. 72.

3. *The state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period.*[1] It has, no doubt, been better in earlier times; but for the last century, it does not appear to have undergone any other change than what arose from the number of schools diminishing in one place and increasing in another, in consequence of the shifting of the population, from war or other causes. The great number of schools has been supposed to contribute to the keeping education in a low state, because it does not give a sufficient number of scholars to secure the services of able teachers. The monthly rate paid by each scholar is from four to six or eight annas. Teachers in general do not earn more than six or seven rupees monthly, which is not an allowance sufficient to induce men properly qualified to follow the profession. It may also be said that the general ignorance of the teachers themselves is one cause why none of them draw a large body of scholars together; but the main causes of the low state of education are the little encouragement which it receives, from there being but little demand for it, and the poverty of the people."[2]

4. **Report of the Collector of Bellary.** Of the reports of the collectors, the most interesting are those of the collectors of Bellary and Kanara. The former deserves to be quoted in extenso for the graphic picture it gives of the elementary indigenous schools of those days—a picture that closely resembles the account of elementary indigenous schools in Bengal and Bombay:—

"2. The population of this district is specified in the enclosed statement at 927,857 or little less than a million of souls. The number of schools is only 533, containing no more than 6,641 scholars, or about 12 to each school, and not seven individuals in a thousand of the entire population.

3. The Hindoo scholars are in number 6,398, the Mussulman scholars only 243, and the whole of these are males, with the exception of only 60 girls, who are all Hindoo exclusively.

4. The English language is taught in one school only; the

[1] Italics ours.

[2] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix E.

Tamil in four; the Persian in 21; the Mahratta in 23; the Telgoo in 226; and the Carnataca in 235. Besides these there are 23 places of instruction attended by Brahmins exclusively, in which some of the Hindoo sciences, such as theology, astronomy, logic and law, are still imperfectly taught in the Sanskrit language. . . .

6. The education of the Hindoo youths generally commences when they are five years old; on reaching this age, the master and scholars of the school to which the boy is to be sent, are invited to the house of his parents; the whole are seated in a circle round an image of Gunasee and the child to be initiated is placed exacly opposed to it. The schoolmaster sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Gunasee, entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic name of the deity, and is dismissed with a present from the parents according to their ability. The child next morning comences the great work of his education.

7. Some children continue at school only five years; the parents, through poverty or other circumstances, being often obliged to take them away; and consequently in such cases the merest smattering of an education is obtained; where parents can afford it, and take a lively interest in the culture of their children's minds, they not unfrequently continue at school as long as 14 or 15 years.

8. The internal routine of duty for each day will be found, with very few exceptions and little variation, the same in all the schools. The hour generally for opening school is six o'clock, the first child that enters has the name of Saraswatee, or the goddess of learning, written upon the palm of his hand as a sign of honour; and on the hand of the second a cypher is written, to show that he is worthy neither of praise nor censure; the third scholar receives a gentle stripe; the fourth two; and every succeeding schclar that comes an additional one. This custom, as well as the punishment in native schools, seems of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged and often suspended by both hands and a pully to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment.

9. When the whole are assembled, the scholars, according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes, the lower ones of which are partly under the care of monitors,

whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the master, who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school. The number of classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress. The first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters, which he learns by writing them with his finger on the ground in sand, and not by pronouncing the alphabet, as among European nations. When he becomes pretty dexterous in writing with his finger in sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on cadjan leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaves of the Aristolochia Indica, or with a kind of pencil on the Hulligi or Kadala, which answers the purpose of slates. The two latter in these districts are the most common. One of these is a common oblong board, about a foot in width and three feet in length; this board when planed smooth has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal, and it is then fit for use. The other is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice water, doubled into folds resembling a book, and it is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth, the pencil used is called Bultapa, a kind of white clay substance, somewhat resembling a crayon, with the exception of being rather harder.

10. Having attained a thorough knowledge of the letters, the scholar next learns to write the compounds, or the manner of embodying the symbols of the vowels in the consonants and the formation of syllables, etc., then the names of men, villages, animals, etc., and lastly arithmetical signs. He then commits to memory an addition table and counts from one to 100; he afterwards writes easy sums in addition and subtraction of money, multiplication and the reduction of money, measure, etc. Here great pains are taken with the scholar in teaching him the fractions of an integer, which descend, not by tens as in our decimal fractions, but by fours, and are carried to a great extent. In order that these fractions together with the arithmetical tables in addition, multiplication and the three-fold measures of capacity, weight and extent, may be rendered quite familiar to the minds of the scholars, they are made to stand up twice a day in rows, and repeat the whole after one of the monitors.

11. The other parts of native education consist in decyphering various kinds of handwriting in public, and other letters which

the schoolmaster collects from different sources, writing common letters, drawing up forms of agreement, reading fables and legendary tables and committing various kinds of poetry to memory, chiefly with a view to attain distinctness and clearness of pronunciation together with readiness and correctness in reading any kind of composition.1...............

16. *The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the most advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserves the imitation it has received in England.* The chief defects in the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught and the want of competent masters." [1]).

5. **Report of the Collector of Kanara.** Of great historical importance is the report of the Collector of Kanara: but, unfortunately, it is not available in the original. The selections from the Records of the Madras Government, however, summarise it in the following words: —

"The late principal collector (of Kanara) reported that education is conducted in that district so much in private, that any statement of the number of schools, and of scholars attending them, would be of little or no use, but on the contrary fallacious, in forming an estimate of the proportion of the population receiving instruction." [2]

This statement is one of the important authorities to show that the system of domestic instruction was far more prevalent at this time than that of sending children to "schools" of the type to which we are now accustomed.

6. **Reliability of the Enquiry in Madras.** The reliability of the statistics obtained from this enquiry is generally challenged by historians on grounds that are diametrically opposed to each other. One view holds

[1] *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras,* No. II, Appendix D. (Italics ours).

[2] *Ibid,* Appendix C, para 10.

that the statistics are over-estimates. This view is represented by Sir Philip Hartog who observes:—

"But it is remarkable that A. D. Campbell, who was singled out by the Court of Directors of the East India Company as 'the only one among the collectors from whom much information has been derived concerning the quality of the instruction given at the elementary schools', gave figures for Bellary far below the average reported by Munro. For a population of 927,857 there were only 533 schools (none of them receiving a grant from Government) with 6,641 scholars, of whom 6,398 were Hindus and only 243 Muslims. They included 60 girls, all Hindu. The education generally began at 5 and might be continued till 14.

If Munro's figures had been applicable to Bellary, there should have been some 927 schools in the district with over 13,000 pupils. The contrast between the figures of Munro for Madras as a whole with those of Cambpell for Bellary, and those for other provinces suggest that Munro's figures may have been over-estimates based on the returns of collectors less careful and interested in education than Campbell." [1]

A closer examination of the available data will, however, show that this view is not correct. In the first place, the statistics for children under *domestic instruction* were excluded (except for the District of Madras) in the figures given by the collectors. It must be remembered that Munro's original circular did not refer to domestic instruction. Very possibly, Munro was unaware of its existence at that time. It would be obvious to any one who is conversant with official routine that the collectors did not supply the figures of children under domestic instruction, not because it did not exist in their district, not even because they were unaware of its existence, but because *the figures were not explicitly called for in Government orders.* This is clear from the fact that no collector except that of Madras gave statistics of children under domestic instruction although

[1] *Some Aspects of Indian Education* by Sir Philip Hartog, p. 72.

Munro was convinced that "the practice of boys being taught at home by their parents or private teachers is not unfrequent in *any* part of the country". The Collector of Madras apparently went out of the way and supplied the figures of pupils under domestic instruction also, even though they were not specifically called for. It is certainly an ill reward for all this labour to class him with collectors 'less careful and interested in education than Campbell' as Sir Philip seems to do.

Secondly, it must be noted that Munro himself was convinced that his statistics were underestimates. He calculated the population of school-going age at 1/9th of the total population. This gave him the number of boys of school-going age at 7,13,000 and he found that only 1,84,000 or one-fourth were in schools. But he felt that some allowance must be made for the children under domestic instruction. He was not prepared to accept the figures given by the Collector of Madras as reliable because he could not believe that for every boy in a 'school' there were five under domestic instruction. But all the same, he admitted that the figures available were *underestimates* and observed that the number of boys under instruction was nearer to one-third than to one-fourth of the total number of boys of school-going age.

Perhaps, the best course for Munro would have been to demand a rechecking of the Madras figures and to collect statistics of children under domestic instruction from other collectors. But he was not interested in the problem. He did not aim at statistical accuracy. His only object, as he pointed out in his original Minute, was to have some idea of the indigenous system and he dropped all further enquiry in the matter as he felt that he had enough data to prepare his proposals for educational reform. It would be futile to speculate as

to what would have been the result of a careful enquiry into the system of domestic instruction, but there can be no doubt that the available evidence clearly points to the conclusion that Munro's figures were largely underestimated.

7. **The Enquiry in Bombay.** What Munro did in Madras was done in Bombay by Elphinstone. He also ordered an enquiry into the system of indigenous education on lines very similar to those of Munro. The earliest official statistics for the whole Province (excluding Sind) appear to be those of 1829 which state that the total number of schools in the Province was 1,705 with 35,143 scholars while the population was stated to be 46,81,735. If these statistics are to be relied upon, it would mean that education in Bombay was only one-third as advanced as in Madras.

But the reliability of these figures is generally challenged. The chief argument is the direct evidence of the officials of those days whose personal impressions were quite different. For instance, Mr. G. L. Prendergast, a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, wrote as under in 1821 :—

> "I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more; many in every town, and in large cities in every division; where young natives are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain to perhaps a rupee per month to the schoolmaster, according to the ability of parents, and at the same time so simple and effectual, that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy, in my opinion, beyond what we meet with amongst the lower orders in our own country; whilst the more splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of ease, conciseness, and clearness, I rather think, fully equal to those of any British merchant."

Observations of this type from several other officials of those days have also been found and it is, therefore, argued that the statistics given above were indifferently collected. Secondly, it is pointed out that these figures do not include the figures of pupils under domestic instruction which certainly prevailed to a great extent in Bombay as in other parts of India.

It is difficult, however, to pronounce any definite opinion on the subject as the direct evidence available is extremely scanty. At present, it is purely 'a question of taste' to choose between the report of 1829 or the views of Mr. Prendergast and others. But the indirect evidence that is available leads one to the conclusion that the report of 1829 cannot be accurate. For instance, it is a well-known fact that the Bombay Education Department deliberately neglected the indigenous schools. Between 1829 and 1882, therefore, the number of indigenous schools in the Province *must* have decreased considerably owing to the unfair competition with the Departmental and Local Fund Cess Schools which were organised in large numbers during these years. And yet, in 1881-2, the Indian Education Commission found 3954 indigenous schools with 78,205 pupils! In the face of this evidence, it is impossible to believe that there were only 1705 schools with 35,143 pupils in 1829. An approach to the problem with an open mind is more likely to show that the Bombay statistics are unreliable underestimates than to prove that they can be taken as the yardstick with which to measure the extent of elementary education in India as a whole.

8. **Conclusion.** The foregoing discussion will point out to a number of facts which are of importance to a student of Indian educational history. To begin with, Campbell's description of an indigenous elementary

school portrays clearly both the strong and the weak points of the system such as its adaptability to the economic conditions of the pupils, the simplicity and cheapness of its equipment, and the simplicity and practical utility of its curriculum on the one hand, and the crude methods of teaching, the severe punishments, the absence of a varied and liberal course of education, etc. on the other. *Secondly*, the extensive prevalence of the system of domestic instruction shows that the educational statistics of the nineteenth century are bound to be misleading if the statistics relating to this method of educating children are not taken into consideration. *Thirdly*, it will also be clear that the official enquiries in Madras and Bombay present so untrue a picture of the system of indigenous education that neither of these enquiries can be taken as a reliable guide in estimating the extent of education and literacy in India at the advent of British rule. *Fourthly*, Munro's statement that education in India was "higher than what it was in most other countries at no distant period" deserves special notice. Generally the statistics of Indian education of this period are judged by standards of the *present day*. This is sheer anachronism. The correct method would be to compare the statistics of education in India with those of other countries for the same period. If this is done, India will not be found to have been so backward as is generally made out.[1] *Fifthly*, Campbell's

[1] This statement refers to the education of males only. Female education was undoubtedly very backward, if not entirely non-existent. But the statistics of male education alone are really not so bad. For instance, Brougham estimated that, in 1803, the proportion of pupils under instruction to population in England and Wales, was 1 in 21 (vide *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by Birchenough (1932), p. 60) ; and Munro calculated that the porportion of boys under instruction in Madras was 1 in 27 (one-third of one-ninth). Clearly, the difference is not very wide.

remark that the monitorial system of India was copied in England also deserves notice. Historians only talk of England's contribution to Indian Education. They generally ignore the great contribution which was made by India to the spread of education among the poorer classes of England herself. Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain at Madras, was the first Englishman to realise the value of the Indian system of teaching with the help of monitors—a system that prevailed extensively in the indigenous schools Although the main principle of the system is the use of senior pupils in teaching the juniors, several different forms of it were in use. One form in which pupils of the senior classes taught the lower classes has been described in Mr. Campbell's report quoted above (Section 4 supra). Another form of the system, which prevailed in Bombay has been very beautifully described in the following passage:—

> "When a boy joins the school, he is immediately put under the tuition and care of one who is more advanced in knowledge and whose duty it is to give lessons to his young pupil, to assist him in learning and to report his behaviour and progress to the master. The scholars are not classed but are generally paired off, each pair consisting of an instructor and a pupil. These pairs are so arranged that a boy less advanced may sit next to one who has made greater progress and from whom he receives assistance and instruction. When, however, several of the older boys have made considerable and nearly equal progress, they are seated together in one line and receive their instruction directly from the master; by these means the master has sufficient leisure to exercise vigilant superintendence over the school and of enquiring into the progress made by each pupil under instruction". (Report of the Bombay Native Society for 1817, pp. 20-22.)

Dr. Bell realised that the main advantage of the system was to enable the teacher to manage a large number of pupils at a time so that the spread of education could be effected at a very low cost. He, therefore, advocated

the adoption of this system in England in a book entitled "An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum at Madras, suggesting a system by which a school or a Family may teach itself under the superintendence of the Master or Parent" (1798). This book attracted great attention and eventually the Indian system was almost universally adopted in England. This system, variously described as the Madras system, or the Monitorial system, was the chief method by which England achieved expansion of primary education at a very low cost between 1801 and 1845. Sir Michael Sadler thus describes the English schools of this time which worked on the monitorial system and the service that they rendered to the cause of mass education:—

> "But although the teachers were, as a rule, not trained, and often unable to impart knowledge, although the buildings were frequently not suitable for schools, the books deficient in numbers and quality, the attendance of the scholars very irregular, yet the 'first step' not only had been taken but the children had been accustomed to school-life."[1]

While emphasizing the contribution of England to the cause of Modern Education in India, it is, therefore, necessary to remember this neglected but great contribution that India herself made to the expansion of elementary education in England.

[1] *Special Reports on Educational Subjects,* Vol. II, p. 449.

CHAPTER II

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN INDIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (BENGAL)

In the last Chapter, we discussed the surveys of indigenous education that were carried out in Madras and Bombay between 1822 and 1829. In the following decade, very important surveys of indigenous education were carried out in Bengal by a missionary named William Adam. As these surveys appear to us to be not only exhaustive and interesting but also reliable to a large extent, we propose to discuss them in detail in this Chapter.

2. **Life and Work of W. Adam.** William Adam was a native of Dunfermline, Scotland, and came to India as a missionary in 1818. He worked for a time with the missionaries at Serampore but soon severed his connection with them and went to reside in Calcutta where he made a thorough study of the Sanskrit and Bengali languages.

During his stay in Calcutta, Adam came in contact with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and soon became his intimate friend. This friendship, which lasted throughout the life of the Raja—who even provided for Adam and his family in his will—was the turning point in the life of Adam. Under the Raja's influence Adam renounced his belief in the Trinity, and became a Unitarian in 1821. He then became the first Unitarian minister of Calcutta and took a leading part in the public life of Bengal. He was the editor of the *Calcutta Chronicle* till it was suppressed (1827), of the *India Gazette* from 1829 to

1833, and of the tri-weekly edition of the *Bengal Harkāru* from 1833 to 1835.

As early as 1829, Adam had written to Lord William Bentinck requesting him to institute an enquiry into the system of indigenous education, but nothing came out of the proposal. So he wrote again in 1834 and this time his idea attracted some attention, and at the request of Bentinck, Adam wrote a formal letter to Government repeating his proposal and the Governor-General-in-Council approved it in a Minute dated 20th January 1835. It is worthy of note that the Minute is *not* signed by Macaulay who was then the Law Member of the Executive Council and the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction for Bengal.

Adam worked on his enquiry for three years, 1835-38, and submitted three reports. The first, which was submitted on 1st July 1835, is merely a digest of the earlier enquiries and reports on the subject. Adam states that the sources of this report were the following : —

(i) The reports of Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) ;

(ii) Records of the General Committee of Public Instruction ;

(iii) (Walter) Hamilton's East India Gazetteer (2nd Edition, 2 Vols., 1828) ;

(iv) Missionary, college, and school reports ;

(v) A memoir, with supplement, compiled by the Searcher of Records at the India House, showing the extent to which aid had been afforded by the local governments in India towards the establishment of Native Schools in this country, and published in the first Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on

the Affairs of the East India Company, 16th August, 1832.

Adam's second Report was submitted on 23rd December 1835 and contains a complete survey of one Thana, viz. Nattore, in the district of Rajshahi; and his third report, which was submitted on 28th April 1838, contains full statistics for the Districts of Murshidabad, Burdwan, Birbhum, Tirhut, and South Behar. It also contains Adam's proposals for the improvement and extension of the indigenous system of education.

A few words may be added here regarding the later life of Adam. Towards the end of 1838, he went to America and thence to England in 1840. He never returned to India, but continued to serve the cause of Indians in his own way. He published *The Law and Custom of Slavery in British India* (1840), *The East India Year Book* (1841), and *Life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy* (1879). He also edited for a time a periodical entitled *The British India Advocate*—the organ of the British India Society of London. But no further details of his life in England are known and even the place and time of his death cannot be ascertained.

3. **Adam's First Report.** The first report of Adam is, as stated already, a carefully prepared digest of all the data then available. It makes very good reading although the information it contains is neither so adequate nor so reliable as that in his own two later reports. The main interest of the report lies, however, in the following passage which, in recent years, has become the subject of a great controversy:—

"**Indigenous Elementary Schools**: By this description are meant those schools in which instruction in the elements of knowledge is communicated, and which have been originated and are supported by the Natives themselves, in contra-distinction from those that are supported by religious or philanthropic

societies. The number of such schools in Bengal is supposed to be very great. A distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction in a minute on the subject expressed the opinion, that if one rupee per mensem were expended on each existing village school in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lakhs of rupees per annum. This supposes that there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar, and assuming the population of those two provinces to be 40,000,000, there would be a village school for every 400 persons ....It will follow that in Bengal and Behar there is on an average a village school for every sixty-three children of the school-going age. These children, however, include girls as well as boys, and as there are no indigenous girls' schools, if we take the male and female children to be in equal or nearly equal proportions, there will appear to be an indigenous elementary school for every thirty-one or thirty-two boys. The estimate of 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar is confirmed by a consideration of the number of villages in those two provinces. Their number has been officially estimated at 150,748, of which, not all, but most have each a school. If it be admitted that there is so large a proportion as a third of the villages that have no schools, there will still be 100,000 that have them. Let it be admitted that these calculations from uncertain premises are only distant approximations to the truth, and it will still appear that the system of village schools is extensively prevalent. . . ." [1]

This report has been dubbed a 'myth' or a 'legend' by some students of educational history while others maintain with equal force that it is substantially correct. The argument chiefly centres round two points: firstly, the two sides differ in the interpretation of the word 'school'. One side uses the expression in its *modern* sense, viz. an institution of a more or less permanent nature conducted by a person who teaches a certain number of the children of the locality in return for fees and perquisites from the pupils and/or a remuneration from the community. If the word is used in this sense,

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 6-7.

it is correct to conclude that the idea of 100,000 'schools' in Bengal is a 'fantastic exaggeration of facts'. But the other side contests this interpretation. It argues that, in those days, the word 'school' was used to mean 'a place where instruction was given' and included the centres where the system of domestic instruction prevailed. According to this view, a family where a teacher was employed to give education to its children, or where the father taught his own children—with or without other children from the locality—was also a 'school' as understood in those days. In support of this theory, it is pointed out that Adam collected all statistics of families giving domestic instruction as part of his enquiry about schools and scholars.[1] If this view is accepted, it follows that almost every village in Bengal had a school, public or private, and that the larger ones had several each.

Secondly, the question as to why Adam himself did not point out the falsity of the 'legend' of one lakh schools is also variously answered. The honesty of Adam is not doubted; but one view states that he could not "summarize his statistics clearly", while the other side points out the great powers of observation and analysis that he displays in his reports and asserts that the legend of 100,000 schools has persisted in official and non-official circles for the simple reason that it was *not* a legend. As the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe observed:—

> "Officials and publicists who belong to this century and who have no personal knowledge of the educational conditions of the country in the middle half of the nineteenth century are unwilling to believe that there ever were schools in villages where the modern Departments of Education find it impossible

[1] Adam's own words on this subject are the following:—
"Elementary instruction in this district (i.e. Rajshahi) is divisible into two sorts: Public and Private, according as it is communicated in public schools, or private families. The distinction is not always strictly maintained, but it is sufficiently marked."—*Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. 136-7.

to maintain them. They cannot conceive of simple instructional centres maintained by the villages jointly or by rich landlords individually, by paying the teachers in kind. But officials and non-officials who lived in the fifties and sixties of the last century have, like Adam, admitted the existence of a school in every village. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there existed a fairly widespread organization for primary education in most parts of India. In Madras Presidency, Sir Thomas Munro found 'a primary school in every village' (Mill—*History of British India,* Vol. I, p. 562, 4th edition). In Bengal, Ward discovered that 'almost all villages possessed schools for teaching reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic' (Ward—*View of the Hindoos,* Vol. I, p. 160). In Malva, which was for more than half a century suffering from continuous anarchy, Malcolm noticed that 'every village with about a hundred houses had an elementary school at the time of its coming under the British suzerainty' (Malcolm—*Memoirs of Central India and Malva,* Vol. II, p. 158)."[1]

4. **Adam's Second Report.** In his second report Adam made a thorough and a comprehensive enquiry of one Thana, Nattore, in the district of Rajshahi. His main object in doing this was to get an insight into the problem and the difficulties of investigation. He selected Nattore because it was the most central of the Thanas of the Rajshahi district and could be regarded as a standard for judging conditions in the other sub-divisions. The results of Adam's enquiries are briefly stated in the following paragraphs.

The population of the Thana was 1,95,296 of which 1,29,640 were Muslims and 65,656 were Hindus. The number of villages was 485. According to ages, the population would be classified as under:—

			Total
Below 5 years	Males	18.442	
	Females	16 497	34,939.
Between 5 and 14 years	Males	22,637	
	Females	16,792	39,429.
Above 14 years	Males	59,500	
	Females	61,428	1,20,928.

[1] *Progress of Education,* July 1940, p. 38.

Adam found only 27 elementary schools with 262 pupils. Of these 10 were Bengali schools with 167 pupils, 4 were Persian schools with 23 pupils, 11 were Arabic schools (for the teaching of the Koran) with 42 pupils, and 2 were Bengali and Persian schools with 30 pupils. Besides these, there were 1,588 families belonging to 238 villages, which gave instruction to 2,382 children. In other words, the number of children under domestic instruction was nearly nine times the number of pupils in public schools. The average age of admission to a public elementary school was 8 years and the average age of leaving school was 14 years. The average pay of the teachers in elementary schools was Rs. 5-8 per month.

There were no indigenous colleges conducted by Muslims. But Adam found 38 Sanskrit colleges with 397 students. The average age of admission was 11 years and the average age of completing the course was 27 years. Of the 397 students, 136 belonged to the villages where the colleges were situated and received free education only, while 261 students belonged to other villages and received food, lodging, and education, free of charge, from their teachers.

Female education was practically non-existent. But Adam estimated that the total number of instructed adults in Nattore was 6,121 as under :—

Teachers in Hindu Colleges	39
Learned men who were not teachers ..	88
Students in Colleges	397
Persons who had received an education superior to reading and writing ..	3,255
Persons who could sign their names or read imperfectly	2,342
Total	6,121

This gives a literacy percentage of 6.1 to the total male population and 3.1 to the whole population including females.

These statistics are interesting no doubt; but the descriptions of Adam are even more so and the reader is strongly advised to study the original report itself. The following few quotations are given here as mere specimens:—

"(a) **Remuneration of Primary Teachers**: The school at Dharail (No. 34) affords a good specimen of the mode in which a small native community unite to support a school. At that place there are four families of Chaudhuris,—the principal persons in the villages; but they are not so wealthy as to be able to support a teacher for their children without the co-operation of others. They give the teacher an apartment in which his scholars may meet, one of the outer apartments of their own house in which business is sometimes transacted, and at other times worship performed and strangers entertained. One of those families further pays four annas a month, a second an equal sum, a third eight annas, and a fourth twelve annas, which include the whole of their disbursements on this account, no presents or perquisites of any kind being received from them, and for the sums mentioned their five children receive a Bengali education. The amount thus obtained, however, is not sufficient for the support of the teacher, and he, therefore, receives other scholars belonging to other families—of whom one gives one anna, another gives three annas, and five give each four annas a month, to which they add voluntary presents amounting per month to about four annas, and consisting of vegetables, rice, fish, and occasionally a piece of cloth, such as a handkerchief or an upper or under garment. Five boys of Kagbariya, the children of two families, attend the Dharail school, the distance being about a mile, which, in the rainy season, can be travelled only by water. Of the five, two belonging to one family give together two annas, and the three others belonging to the other family give together four annas a month, and thus the whole income of the master is made up. This case shows by what pinched and stinted contributions the class just below the wealthy and the class just above the indigent unite to support a school; and it constitutes a proof of the very limited means of those who are

anxious to give a Bengali education to their children, and of the sacrifices which they make to accomplish that object." [1]

" (b) **Methods of Teaching in Persian Schools**: The Persian schools in Nattore are four in number, containing twenty-three scholars, who enter school at an age varying from four and a half to thirteen years, and leave it at an age varying from twelve to seventeen. The whole time stated to be spent at school varies from four to eight years. The teachers intellectually are of a higher grade than the teachers of Bengali schools, although that grade is not high compared with what is to be desired and is attainable. . . . The total remuneration of a teacher varies from four to ten rupees per month, averaging about seven rupees. The principal object of the patrons of these schools is the instruction of their own children; but in one instance a worthy old Musalman, who has no children, contributes a small monthly allowance, without which the teacher would not have sufficient inducement to continue his labour; and in another case besides two children of the family, ten other boys are admitted, on whom instruction, food, and clothing, are gratuitously bestowed. Two of the schools have separate school-houses, which were built by the benevolent patrons who principally support them. The scholars of the other two assemble in out-buildings, belonging to one or other of the families whose children receive instruction.

Although in the Persian schools printed books are unknown, yet manuscript works are in constant use. The general course of instruction has no very marked stages or gradations into which it is divided. Like the Hindus, however, the Musalmans formally initiate their children into the study of letters. When a child, whether a boy or a girl, is four years, four months, and four days old, the friends of the family assemble, and the child is dressed in his best clothes, brought in to the company, and seated on a cushion in the presence of all. The alphabet, the form of letters used for computation, the Introduction to the Koran, some verses of Chapter LV, and the whole of Chapter LXXXVII, are placed before him, and he is taught to pronounce them in succession. If the child is self-willed, and refuses to read, he is made to pronounce the Bismillah, which answers every purpose, and from that day his education is deemed to have commenced. At school he is taught the

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 139-40.

alphabet, as with ourselves by the eye and ear, the forms of the letters being presented to him in writing, and their names pronounced in his hearing, which he is required to repeat until he is able to connect the names and the forms with each other in his mind. The scholar is afterwards made to read the thirtieth Section of the Koran, the chapters of which are short, and are generally used at the times of prayer and in the burial service. The words are marked with the diacritical points in order that the knowledge of letters, their junction and correct orthography, and their pronunciation from the appropriate organs may be thoroughly acquired; but the sense is entirely unknown. The next book put into his hands is the *Pandnameh* of Sadi, a collection of moral sayings, many of which are above his comprehension, but he is not taught or required to understand any of them. The work is solely used for the purpose of instructing him in the art of reading and of forming a correct pronunciation, without any regard to the sense of the words pronounced. It is generally after this that the scholar is taught to write the letters, to join vowels and consonants, and to form syllables. The next book is the *Amadnameh,* exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs which are read to the master and by frequent repetition committed to memory. The first book which is read for the purpose of being understood is the *Gulistan* of Sadi, containing lessons on life and manners and this is followed or accompanied by the *Bostan* of the same author. Two or three sections of each are read; and simultaneously short Persian sentences relating to going and coming, sitting and standing, and the common affairs of life, are read and explained. The pupil is afterwards made to write Persian names, then Arabic names, and next Hindi names, especially such as contain letters to the writing or pronunciation of which difficulty is supposed to attach. Elegant penmanship is considered a great accomplishment, and those who devote themselves to this art employ from three to six hours every day in the exercise of it, writing first single letters, then double or treble, then couplets, quatrains, &c. They first write upon a board with a thick pen, then with a finer pen on pieces of paper pasted together; and last of all, when they have acquired considerable command of the pen, they begin to write upon paper in single fold. This is accompanied or followed by the perusal of some of the most popular poetical productions such as Joseph

and Zuleikha, founded on a well-known incident in Hebrew history; the loves of Leila and Majnun; the Secundar Nameh, an account of the exploits of Alexander the Great, &c. &c. The mode of computing by the Abjad, or letters of the alphabet, is also taught, and is of two sorts; in the first, the letters of the alphabet in the order of the Abjad being taken to denote units, tens, and hundreds to a thousand; and in the second the letters composing the names of the letters of the alphabet being employed for the same purpose. Arithmetic, by means of the Arabic numerals, and instruction at great length in the different styles of address, and in the forms of correspondence, petitions, &c., &c., complete a course of Persian instruction . . .

In a Persian school, after the years of mere childhood, when the pupils are assumed to be capable of stricter application, the hours of study with intervals extend from six in the morning to nine at night. In the first place in the morning they revise the lessons of the previous day, after which a new lesson is read, committed to memory, and repeated to the master. About mid-day they have leave of absence for an hour when they dine, and on their return to school they are instructed in writing. About three o'clock they have another reading lesson which is also committed to memory, and about an hour before the close of the day they have leave to play. The practice with regard to the forenoon and afternoon lessons in reading, is to join the perusal of a work in prose with that of a work in verse; as the Gulistan with the Bostan and Abulfazl's letters with the Secundar Nameh, the forenoon lesson being taken from one and the afternoon lesson from the other. In the evening they repeat the lessons of that day several times until they have them perfectly at command; and, after making some preparation for the lessons of the next day, they have leave to retire. Thursday every week is devoted to the revision of old lessons; and when that is completed, the pupils seek instruction or amusement according to their own pleasure in the perusal of forms of prayer and stanzas of poetry, and are dismissed on that day at three o'clock without any new lesson. On Friday, the sacred day of Musalmans, there is no schooling. In other districts in respectable or wealthy Musalman families, besides the literary intructor called *Miyan* or *Akhun*, there is also a domestic tutor or *Censor Morum* called *Atalik*, a kind of head-servant whose duty it to train the children of the family to good manners, and to see that they

do not neglect any duty assigned to them; but I do not find any trace of this practice in Rajshahi.

Upon the whole the course of Persian instruction, even in its less perfect forms such as are found to exist in this district, has a more comprehensive character and a more liberal tendency than that pursued in the Bengali schools. The systematic use of books although in manuscript, is a great step in advance, accustoming the minds of the pupils to forms of regular composition, to correct and elegant language, and to trains of consecutive thought, and thus aiding both to stimulate the intellect and to form the taste." [1]

"(c) **Domestic Instruction**: Those who give their children domestic instruction are Zemindars, Talukdars, and persons of some little substance; shop-keepers and traders possessing some enterprise and forecast in their callings; zemindars' agents or factors (gomashtas), and heads of villages (mandals), who know practically the advantage of writing and accounts; and

[1] *N.B.*—This extract is taken from pp. 148-51 of the Calcutta Edition. In this connection, the following passage which occurs in Adam's third report deserves a perusal:—

"The Hindustani or Urdu is the current spoken language of the educated Musalmans of Bengal and Behar, and it is a remarkable feature in the constitution of Mohammedan society in these provinces, and I infer throughout India that the vernacular language of that class is never employed in the schools as the medium or instrument of written instruction. Bengali school-books are employed by the Hindus of Bengal, and Hindi school-books by the Hindus of Behar; but although Urdu is more copious and expressive, more cultivated and refined than either, and possesses a richer and more comprehensive literature, Urdu school-books are wholly unknown. It is the language of conversation in the daily intercourse of life and in the business of the world, and it is the language also of oral instruction for the explanation of Persian and Arabic, but it is never taught or learned for its own sake, or for what it contains. It is acquired in a writtten form only indirectly and at second-hand through the medium of the Persian, whose character it has adopted and from which it has derived almost all its vocables, and it is employed as a written language chiefly in popular poetry and tales and in female correspondence and often also in the pulpit. The absence of Urdu schools for the Musalman population, corresponding with the Bengali and Hindi schools for the Hindus, may explain in some measure, the greater degradation and ignorance of the lower classes of Musalmans when compared with the corresponding classes of the Hindu population; and the first step to their improvement must be to supply this defect." (*Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 290-91).

sometimes persons of straitened resources, but respectable character, who have been in better circumstances, and wish to give their children the means of making their way in the world. Pundits, too, who intend that their children should pursue the study of Sanskrit begin by instructing them at home in the rudiments of their mother tongue ; and Brahmans who have themselves gone through only a partial course of Sanskrit reading, seek to qualify their children by such instruction as they can give for the office and duties of a family priest or spiritual guide.

The instruction given in families is still more limited and imperfect than that which is given in schools. In some cases I found that it did not extend beyond the writing of the letters of the alphabet, in others the writing of words. Pundits and priests, unless when there is some landed property in the family, confine the Bengali instruction they give their children to writing and reading, addition and subtraction, with scarcely any of the applications of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs. Farmers and traders naturally limit their instructions to what they best know, and what is to them and their children of greatest direct utility, the calculations and measurements peculiar to their immediate occupations. The parents with whom I have conversed on the subject do not attach the same value to the domestic instruction which their children receive which they ascribe to the instruction of a professional schoolmaster, both because in their opinion such instruction would be more regular and systematic, and because the teacher would probably be better qualified.

It thus appears that, in addition to the elementary instruction given in regular schools, there is a sort of traditionary knowledge of written language and accounts preserved in families from father to son and from generation to generation. This domestic elementary instruction is much more in use than scholastic elementary instruction, and yet it is not so highly valued as the latter. The reasons why the less esteemed form of elementary instruction is more common cannot in all cases be accurately ascertained. The inaptitude to combination for purposes of common interest sometimes alleged against the natives might be suggested ; but the truth is that they do often club together, sometimes to establish and support schools and sometimes to defray the expenses of religious celebrations, dances,

and plays. In those cases in which scholastic instruction would be preferred by the parents, and I believe such cases to be numerous, poverty is the only reason that can be assigned; and in other instances, as of the zemindar and the Brahman Pundit, the pride of rank and station in the one case, and of birth and learning in the other, acting also upon circumscribed means, may prevent the respective parties from looking beyond their own thresholds for the instruction which their children need. Inability to pay for school instruction I believe to be by far the most prevalent reason and this is confirmed by the fact that in at least six villages that I visited, I was told that there had been recently Bengali schools which were discontinued because the masters could not gain a livelihood, or because they found something more profitable to do elsewhere. The case of the Dharail school shows the difficulty with which a small income is made up to a schoolmaster by the community of a village. From all I could learn and observe, I am led to infer that in this district elementary instruction is on the decline and has been for some time past decaying. The domestic instruction which many give to their children in elementary knowledge would seem to be an indication of the struggle which the ancient habits and the practical sense of the people are making against their present depressed circumstances."[1]

"(d) **Education of Women**: Of the total female population, 16,792 are between fourteen and five years of age, that is, are of the age at which the mind is capable of receiving in an increasing degree the benefit of instruction in letters. The state of instruction amongst this unfortunate class cannot be said to be low, for with a very few individual exceptions there is no instruction at all. Absolute and hopeless ignorance is in general their lot. The notion of providing the means of instruction for female children never enters into the minds of parents; and girls are equally deprived of that imperfect domestic instruction which is sometimes given to boys. A superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to write and read will soon after marriage become a widow, an event which is regarded as nearly the worst misfortune that can befall the sex; and the belief is also generally entertained in native society that intrigue is

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 158-9.

facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. Under the influence of these fears there is not only nothing done in a native family to promote female instruction, but an anxiety is often evinced to discourage any inclination to acquire the most elementary knowledge, so that when a sister, in the playful innocence of childhood, is observed imitating her brother's attempts at penmanship, she is expressly forbidden to do so, and her attention drawn to something else. These superstitious and distrustful feelings prevail extensively, although not universally, both amongst those Hindus who are devoted to the pursuits of religion, and those who are engaged in the business of the world. Zemindars are for the most part exempt from them, and they in general instruct their daughters in the elements of knowledge, although it is difficult to obtain from them an admission of the fact. They hope to marry their daughters into families of wealth and property, and they perceive that, without a knowledge of writing and accounts, their daughters will, in the event of widowhood, be incompetent to the management of their deceased husband's estates, and will unavoidably become a prey to the interested and unprincipled. The Mahomedans participate in all the prejudices of the Hindus against the instruction of their female offspring, besides that a very large majority of them are in the very lowest grades of poverty, and are thus unable, even if they were willing, to give education to their children. It may, therefore, be affirmed that the juvenile female population of this district, that is, the female population of the teachable age or of the age between fourteen and five years, without any known exception and with so few probable exceptions that they can scarcely be taken into the account, is growing up wholly destitute of the knowledge of reading and writing."[1]

5. **Adam's Third Report.** The third report of Adam is the most important of all. It is divided into two parts. In the first part, Adam gives the statistics collected by him for five districts, viz. Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, South Bihar and Tirhut. In the second part, Adam gives his proposals of reform which will be dealt with in Chapter V *infra*.

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 187-8.

Adam prefaces his third report by admitting that, in spite of all that he could do, his statistics were *under-estimated.* The causes are mainly two: In the first place, Adam conducted the investigation under his personal supervision in one Thana of each district and employed agents to collect information from the other Thanas. This enabled him to collect a good deal of data but he found that the reports of his agents were not quite reliable. "Although I believe", wrote Adam, "that the returns I receive are in general worthy of confidence as far as they go, yet I have no security that they are not defective. In traversing a district, my agents could not visit all the villages it contained, amounting to several thousands. This was physically impossible without protracting the inquiry beyond all reasonable limits. They were, therefore, compelled to depend either upon their personal knowledge, or upon the information that could be gathered from others as to the places possessing schools, every one of which was invariably visited and examined; but that in no instance a village-institution has been overlooked is more than I dare affirm, and in point of fact I have sometimes discovered instances in which such institutions had at first escaped attention."[1] Secondly, Adam found that sometimes the people got frightened at the enquiry and concealed the exact number of females in the house, and that often, even schools and colleges "concealed themselves to escape the dreaded inquisition."[2] But even after making allowance for these candid confessions, it must be admitted that Adam's statistics of indigenous education are the most reliable of all the statistics we possess on the subject.

[1] *Reports*—Calcutta Edition, p. 219.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

The following tables summarise the general statistics given by Adam :—

TABLE I.—*Schools*

District	Number of Schools								Total
	Bengali	Hindi	Sanskrit	Persian	Formal Arabic	Arabic	English	Girls	
Murshidabad ...	62	5	24	17	..	2	2	1	113
Birbhum ...	407	5	56	71	...	2	2	1	544
Burdwan ...	629 + 1 (infants)	...	190	93	3	8	3	4	931
South Bihar ...	...	286	27	279	...	12	1	...	605
Tirhut ...	...	80	56	234	...	4	...	...	374
Total ...	1,099	376	353	694	3	28	8	6	2,567

TABLE II.—*Scholars*

District	Number of Schools					Total
	Bengali & Hindi	Sanskrit	Persian & Arabic	English	Girls	
Murshidabad ...	1,080	153	109	26	28	1,396
Birbhum ...	6,383	393	490	73	11	7,350
Burdwan ...	13,190	1,358	971	120	175	15,814
South Bihar ...	3,090	437	1,486	23	...	5,036
Tirhut ...	507	214	598	...	...	1,319
Total ...	24,250	2,555	3,654	242	214	30,915

These statistics *exclude* the centres of domestic instruction and if reliance is to be placed on these alone, it is obvious that the report of one lakh schools in Bengal can only be a 'myth'. This is exactly the argument used by Sir Philip Hartog who gives the following figures:—

Area	Population	No. of Schools actually existing	Hypothetical number of schools on the basis of one school per 400 of population
Murshidabad ...	1,86,841	113	467
Birbhum ...	12,67,067	544	3,168
Burdwan ...	11,87,580	931	2,969
South Bihar ...	13,40,610	605	3,352
Tirhut ...	16,97,700	374	4,244

(Taken from p. 83 of *Some Aspects of Indian Education.*)

Evidently, Adam could not but have noticed the great discrepancy between his earlier statement of the existence of one lakh schools in Bengal and these figures; and the only way in which one can explain his silence is to assume that Adam *knew* that centres of domestic instruction were excluded from these figures and that his earlier report would have been true if they had been included. For instance, Adam collected the figures for centres of domestic instruction in one Thana of each of the above districts and his figures bear out his earlier statement in its entirety:—

Area	Population	No. of towns and villages	Number of Schools: Elementary schools (includes Persian)	Schools of learning	Other schools	Private schools of domestic instruction	Total	No. of hypothetical schools on the basis of one school for 400 people
City of Murshidabad...	1,24,804	...	59	26	3	216	304	312
Thana Daulatbazar	62,037	183	25	...	...	254	279	155
„ Nanglia ...	46,416	267	34	2	...	207	243	116
„ Culna ...	1,16,425	288	79	38	2	475	594	291
„ Jehanabad	81,480	803	85	7	...	360	452	203
„ Bhawara	65,812	402	6	7	...	235	248	164
Total ...	4,96,974	1,943	288	80	5	1,747	2,210	1,241

Another argument may be advanced in support of this view. While commenting upon the statistics of domestic instruction given in his third report, Adam observes :—

"When I was in the Rajshahi district I ascertained the number of families only in which domestic instruction was given to the children, without noting the number of children in each such family. In the localities subsequently visited, this omission, it will have been seen from the preceding section, was supplied, and the average number of children receiving domestic instruction in each family is subjoined :—

City of Murshidabad ...	1·388	Thana Culna ...	1·423
Thana Daulatbazar ...	1·279	„ Jehanabad ...	1·219
„ Nanglia ...	1·375	„ Bhawara ...	1·225

I estimated the Rajshahi average at 1½, which is in excess of all these averages subsequently ascertained, from which it may be inferred that the number of children receiving domestic instruction in that district was probably overestimated." [1]

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 324-5.

When we find Adam pointing out such minute discrepancies, it is impossible to agree with Sir Philip Hartog when he tries to show that Adam did not discover the immense difference between his earlier statement regarding the existence of one lakh schools in Bengal and the results of his personal enquiries given in Table I on p. 33.

Similarly, we shall have to take into consideration the number of children under domestic instruction if we want to have a correct idea of the population receiving instruction. The following statistics for the six Thanas where intensive studies were undertaken are supplied by Adam :—

	Population	No. of children receiving school instruction	No. of children receiving domestic instruction	Total No. of children receiving domestic and school instruction
1	2	3	4	5
City of Murshidabad...	1,24,804	959	300	1,259
Thana Daulatbazar ...	62,037	305	326	631
Thana Nanglia ...	46,416	439	285	724
Thana Culna ...	1,16,425	2,243	676	2,919
Thana Jehanabad ...	81,480	366	539	905
Thana Bhawara ...	65,812	60	288	348
Total ...	4,96,974	4,372	2,414	6,786

These figures show that the ratio of pupils to total population was 1 to 73. If male population alone is considered, the ratio would be 1 to 36, that is to say, a little less than the ratio given by Munro.

Let us now turn to the statistics of literacy given by Adam. The following two tables summarise his figures :—

	City of Murshidabad	Thana Daulat Bazar	Thana Nanglia	Thana Culna	Thana Jehanabad	Thana Bhawara	Total of last six columns
1. Adults who have received a learned education and are engaged in the business of teaching ...	33	...	2	38	6	7	86
2. Adults who have received a learned education and who are not engaged in the business of teaching ...	75	13	12	99	19	27	245
3. Adults who have not received a learned education and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attaintments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing ...	60	25	34	93	53	6	271
4. Adults who have neither received a learned education nor are engaged in the business of teaching but who possess attainment superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing ...	4,767	555	352	2,424	992	425	9,515
5. Adults who can merely read and write ...	1,700	614	593	2,304	761	303	6,275
6. Adults who can decipher or sign their names ...	715	565	620	2,350	1,004	265	5,519
Total ...	7,350	1,772	1,613	7,308	2,835	1,033	21,911

N.B.—This table is taken from *Literacy of India in Pre-British Days* by R. V. Parulekar.

As female education was practically non-existent, the literacy percentage of the total adult male population would be as under:—

Area	Total adult population (above 14 years of age)	Adult male population	Adult literate population	Percentage of literacy for male adult population only	Percentage of literacy for total adult population
1	2	3	4	5	6
City of Murshidabad ...	97,818	46,670	7,350	15.74	7.51
Thana Daulatbazar ...	42,837	20,222	1,772	8.76	4.13
Thana Nanglia ...	30,410	14,414	1,613	11.18	5.30
Thana Culna ...	81,045	38,974	7,308	18.75	8.99
Thana Jehanabad ...	57,573	29,936	2,835	9.43	4.91
Thana Bhawara ...	44,416	23,224	1,033	4.44	2.32
Total ...	3,54,099	1,73,440	21,911	12.6	6.1

Over and above these invaluable statistics of schools, scholars, and literacy, Adam's third report contains excellent studies of Sanskrit schools of learning and Persian and Arabic schools. The quotations given below will be found very interesting from this point of view.

"6. **Sanskrit Schools of Learning in the Burdwan District:** The district contains 190 Sanskrit schools, of which two villages contain six each, one village contains five, three villages contain four each, seven villages contain three each, twenty-seven villages contain two each and eighty-six villages contain one each.

"The number of learned teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 45.2 years. One hundred and eighty are Rarhi, four Varendra, and two Vaidika Brahmans, and four of the Vaidya or medical caste.

"The following are the annual receipts, estimated by themselves, of the whole body of teachers:—

	Rs.
185 receive in the form of presents at assemblies	10,928
1 receives in presents and monthly allowance	376
2 receive by medical practice	500
1 receives by medical practice and in the form of monthly allowance	156
1 a medical professor, practices as well as teaches gratuitously	

"Thus 189 professors of learning receive in all rupees 11,960 averaging to each per annum Rs. 63/4/5. Of the two teachers who receive monthly allowances, one is a learned Brahman and the other a learned Vaidya, and the Rajah of Burdwan is the patron of both. There are only two teachers holding endowments of land, one amounting to eight and the other to ten bighas of land, the former yielding about eighteen, and the latter about fifteen rupees a year.

"The majority of the teachers have school-houses either built at their own charge, or at the expense of patrons and friends, or by the subscriptions of the most respectable inhabitants of the village where the school is situated. In those instances in which there is no regular school-house, the Baithakkhana or Chandimandop of the Pundit, or of some wealthy friend, answers the purpose.

"In 190 Sanskrit schools there are 1,358 students, averaging 7.1 to each school. Of the total number 590 are natives of the villages in which the schools are situated, and 768 natives of other villages. They are thus distributed in respect of caste :—

Brahmans	1,296	Daivajnas	11
Vaidyas	45	Vaishnavas	6

"The students of 105 schools receive nothing in the form of presents or by mendicancy. Those of 85 schools receive Rs. 391, averaging Rs. 4/9/7 annually to the students collectively of each school.

"The following is an enumeration of the studies pursued and the number of students engaged in each :—

Grammar	644	Vedants	3
Lexicology	31	Medicine	15
Literature	90	Mythology	43
Rhetoric	8	Astrology	7
Law	238	Tantras	2
Logic	277." [1]		

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 261-6.

" 7. **Persian and Arabic Schools in the District of South Bihar:** This district contains 291 schools, of which 279 are Persian and 12 Arabic.

" One town contains nineteen, another eleven, a third seven, a fourth six, and a fifth five schools. Five villages contain three each; twenty-four, two each; and a hundred and eighty, one each.

" The number of teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 34.2 years.

" One of the Persian teachers is a Hindu of the writer caste, and all the other teachers, both Persian and Arabic, are Musalmans.

" Two of the teachers instruct gratuitously, and two others give both food and instruction to their pupils. The remaining teachers are remunerated as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
1 teacher receives monthly wages and clothes and food for himself and scholars	46	8	0
1 teacher receives monthly wages, food for himself and scholars and the proceeds of an endowment of land	165	5	4
2 teachers receive monthly wages	3	0	0
2 teachers receive fees	7	7	0
5 teachers receive monthly wages and uncooked food	16	8	0
14 teachers receive fees and uncooked food ..	49	6	0
2 teachers receive monthly wages and subsistence-money	8	8	0
22 teachers receive fees and subsistence-money	75	11	0
2 teachers receive fees and weekly presents ..	8	10	0
3 techers receive monthly wages and annual presents	5	10	9
10 teachers receive fees and annual presents ..	27	3	9
6 teachers receive monthly wages, uncooked food, and annual presents	80	15	3
57 teachers receive fees, uncooked food, and annual presents	243	11	3
29 teachers receive monthly wages, subsistence-money, and annual presents	101	8	9
95 teachers receive fees, subsistence-money, and annual presents	454	7	3

	Rs.	a.	p.
1 teacher receives fees, subsistence-money, and weekly presents	7	0	0
1 teacher receives fees, uncooked food, weekly presents, and annual presents	4	6	0
1 teacher receives monthly wages, weekly presents, and annual presents	3	2	3
10 teachers receive monthly wages, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	47	5	0
22 teachers receive fees, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	110	8	0
1 teacher receives fees, uncooked food, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	5	6	9

"Thus 287 teachers receive in all Rs. 1,472/3/7, averaging to each Rs. 5.2 per month.

"There is another source of gain to the teachers of Persian schools in this district called Shuruati, or payment made by every scholar at the commencement of a new book. This is so uncertain that it cannot strictly be regarded either as a monthly or an annual gain. In 579 instances in which I ascertained that this payment had been made, the total amount was Rs. 138/9/6, which average only three annas and about ten pies in each case; and as it is seldom that a school-book is changed oftener than once a year, and the average number of scholars to each school is about five, this will give each teacher an additional sum of Rs. 1/3/2 per annum, or about an anna and a half monthly.

"Two Maulavis in this district are highly distinguished for learning, and they are both authors..........................

"There are only two Persian and two Arabic schools that have appropriate buildings or school-houses, the pupils of the remaining schools finding or making accommodation for themselves, chiefly in the thresholds or verandas of the private dwelling houses occupied by the patrons or teachers.

"In 291 schools there are 1,486 scholars averaging 5.1 to each school. There are 1,424 Persian scholars and 62 Arabic students. Of the Arabic students two are Hindus of the writer caste and sixty are Musalmans, and of the Persian scholars 865 are Hindus and 559 are Musalmans. The following are the sub-divisions of the Hindus who are Persian scholars:—

Kayastha	711	Mahuri	3
Magadha	55	Vaishnava	2
Rajput	30	Sunri	2
Kshatriya	13	Kamar	1
Brahman	11	Luniar	1
Gandhabanik	11	Napit	1
Kairi	90	Kurmi	1
Teli	4	Mayra	1
Swarnakar	4	Aguri	1
Bundela	3		

"Of the total number of Hindu scholars eight were absent and of the Musalman scholars 3 were absent at the time the schools were visited, the remaining number of each class being present. The average ages of the Persian and Arabic scholars at the three periods formerly mentioned are as follows:—

	Age on Admission.	Age at the time of visit.	Age (probable) at the time of leaving school.
Persian scholars	7·8	11·1	21·5
Arabic students	12·3	16·0	24·2[1]"

8. **Decaying Condition of Indigenous Education.** Before we close this chapter, we would like to point out that indigenous education was rapidly decaying at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This can be proved by numerous extracts from the documents relating to this period but the following three quotations will be sufficient for the purpose:—

(*a*) "Inability to pay for school instruction I believe to be by far the most prevalent reason (of schools being closed), and that is confirmed by the fact that, in at least six villages that I visited, I was told that there had been recently Bengali schools which were discontinued, because the masters could not gain a livelihood or because they found something more profitable to do elsewhere. . . . From all I could learn and observe, I am led to infer that in this district (Rajshahi) elementary instruction is on the decline and has been some time past decaying."[2]

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, pp. 284-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

(*b*) "At *Pundua*, a place formerly of some celebrity in the district (Hugly), it is said to have been the practice of the Musalman land-proprietors to entertain teachers at their own private cost, for the benefit of the children of the poor in their neighbourhood, *and it was a rare thing to find an opulent or head of a village who had not a teacher in his employment for that purpose. That class, however, is alleged to have dwindled away and scarcely any such schools are now found to exist.*"[1]

(c) "Imperfect, however, as the present education of the natives is, there are few who possess the means to command it for their children. . . .

"I am sory to state that this is ascribable to the gradual, but general, impoverishment of the country. The means of the manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own European manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics. The removal of many of our troops from our own territories to the distant frontiers of our newly subsidized allies has also, of late years, affected the demand for grain; the transfer of capital of the country from the native governments and their officers who liberally expended it in India, to Europeans restricted by law from employing it even temporarily in India and daily draining it from the land, has likewise tended to this effect, which has not been alleviated by a less rigid enforcement of the revenue due to the State. The greater part of the middling and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their offspring, while their necessities require the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour.

"It cannot have escaped the Government that of nearly a million of souls in this district, not 7,000 are now at school, a proportion which exhibits but too strongly the result above stated. In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none; and in many others where there were large schools now only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend or pay what is demanded."[2]

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, p. 57.

[2] *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*, No. II, Appendix D. (Report of Mr. A. D. Campbell, the Collector of Bellary).

CHAPTER III

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY ACCEPTS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS

(1813)

1. **Early Proselytising Activities.** The East India Company was established on 31st December 1600 and although its main object was trade with eastern countries, very early in its life, it took some measures which clearly seem intended to help the spread of Christianity. For example, it sent out chaplains to India, primarily to look after the spiritual welfare of its Christian employees and their families and incidentally to spread the Gospel among the Indian people. It even seems to have contemplated the training of *Indian Christians* in missionary work with a view presumably to their employment for obtaining more converts to Christianity. Thus Mr. N. N. Law mentions the case of an Indian youth who was sent to England for missionary training at the Company's cost.[1] Moreover, in 1659, the Court of Directors of the Company explicitly stated that it was their earnest desire by all possible means to spread Christianity among the people of India and allowed missionaries to embark on their ships[2]. Fortunately for the Company, however, better counsels seem to have prevailed and this policy was never extensively adopted at any time and was soon replaced by one of religious neutrality, with the result that the Company could

[1] *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers* by N. N. Law, p. 7.

[2] *Selections from Educational Records,* Volume I, p. 3.

stabilize its rule in India without being called upon to face any serious opposition from the masses. It would, however, be incorrect to assume, as is sometimes done, that these activities of the Company are the beginning of its educational policy. This view could have reasonably been held by an official of the Company in those days, since education in England—as everywhere else in the world—was then dominated by religion. But the holding of such a view by any one at the present time would be absolutely untenable, and it has to be admitted that the Company undertook no educational activity worth the name in India during the first hundred years of its existence.

2. **Charity Schools.** Early in the eighteenth century, however, we find a definite beginning of the educational activities of the Company. The Charter of 1698 directed the Company to maintain ministers of religion at their factories in India and to take a chaplain in every ship of 500 tons or more. The ministers were required to learn the Portuguese language which was then commonly understood by the inferior servants at the factories, and also "to apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company or of their agents, in the Protestant religion."[1] The Charter also directed the Company to maintain schools, wherever necessary, in all their garrisons and bigger factories. The first part of this direction obviously implies that the Company was expected to spread the Gospel amongst all its employees (including Indians) at least, if not among the people as a whole. But by this time, the Company had realised the political importance of a policy

[1] *Government of India* by Sir C. Ilbert, p. 29.

of religious neutrality and, therefore, refrained from carrying this out to its logical conclusion.

The second part of the direction was, however, complied with to a considerable extent. The Company encouraged the establishment of schools at the principal towns within its territories and often gave them liberal grants-in-aid. Thus the St. Mary's Charity School was established in Madras in 1715 by Rev. Mr. Stevenson. Two more charity schools were established in the same town in 1717 by the Danish Missionaries—one for Portuguese children and the other for Tamil children. In 1718, Rev. Richard Cobbe established a charity school in Bombay and in 1731, another charity school was established in Calcutta by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. In 1787, two more charity schools were established in Madras—one for boys and the other for girls. These schools were mostly intended for the education of the children of the Company's English soldiers—presumably by Indian mothers—although some of them admitted a few poor and orphan Indian children also; their curriculum was mostly limited to the acquisition of the three R's and the principles of the Christian religion; and the funds for their support were provided by subscriptions and donations from philanthropic and religious persons and by the grants paid by the Company.

Throughout the eighteenth century, therefore, the encouragement of these and similar charity schools was the main educational activity of the East India Company. From a theoretical point of view, it is possible to regard these schools as the beginning of the Company's educational work in India. But it must be remembered that they catered to the needs of a very small section of the public, viz. the children of the *Company's European*

servants and that, as yet, the Company had done hardly anything either to acknowledge or to discharge a similar duty to its *Indian subjects.*

3. **The Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College.** The Company's attempts to educate the Indian people as such, cannot, therefore, be traced either to its early activities in the seventeenth century of a more or less proselytising nature or to its encouragement of the charity schools during the eighteenth. It would be more appropriate to trace them to the decade 1781-91 in which the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College came to be established. In 1781, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, founded the Calcutta Madrassah for the cultivation of Arabic and Persian studies and in 1791, Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, established a College at that place for the cultivation of Sanskrit learning. The first and foremost object of these institutions was to train Indian Assistants to English judges in order to explain the principles of Muslim and Hindu Laws. It may be noted here that, prior to 1781, the Judges of the Supreme Court which was established by the Regulating Act of 1773, administered English Law only. This led to a considerable disquiet among the Indian people because the principles of English Law were, in many instances, contrary to Indian customs. Hence the Amending Act of 1781 provided that " inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party, shall be determined in the case of Mahomedans by the laws and usages of Mahomedans, and in the case of Gentus by the laws and usages of Gentus; and where only one of the parties shall be a Mahomedan or Gentu by the laws and usages of the

defendant ".[1] As the English judges were ignorant of these laws and as the Company was apparently not prepared to advocate the appointment of Indian judges, it became necessary to appoint Hindu and Muslim assistants to English judges, in order to explain the principles of their respective laws. It was expected that the Madrassah and the College would supply the Company with an adequate number of such trained assistants to judges.

Although this object of direct administrative utility was the most important, there were other objects as well in founding these institutions. In the first place, the Company wanted to emulate the example of Indian rulers who were known for their munificent donations to schools and colleges of learning ; and secondly it was anxious to placate the most influential classes of the Indian people. The administrators of the Company knew that unless they preserved the popular traditions of earlier rulers and tried to please the influential classes of Indians by giving them education as a stepping-stone to posts under Government, it would be difficult to consolidate and strengthen the British power in India. They hoped that both these objectives would be fulfilled by establishing these institutions. For instance, the aim of establishing the Calcutta Madrassah was stated to be the desire " to conciliate the Mahomedans of Calcutta . . . to qualify the sons of Mahomedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, and to produce competent officers for Courts of Justice to which students of the Madrassah on the production of certificates of qualification were to be drafted as vacancies occurred ".[2] In the same way, Jonathan Duncan wrote, as under, to Lord

[1] *Government of India* by Sir C. Ilbert, p. 56.
[2] *Education in India* by Howell, p. 1.

Cornwallis regarding the Benares Sanskrit College:—

"Two important advantages seemed derivable from such an establishment, the first to the British name and nation in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindus; by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems, the care shewn even by their own native princes .... The second principal advantage that may be derived from this institution will be felt in its effect upon the natives .... by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindoo law, and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders thereof, to assist European judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people."[1]

Both these institutions had an indifferent existence for the next two decades or so during which period the main educational activities of the Company were confined to their maintenance and to the assistance of the charity schools that were established in all the three Presidencies.

4. **Missionary Activities Prior to 1813.** Side by side with these educational activities of the Company, certain educational institutions of an entirely different type were built up by the missionaries. The main difference was that while the objectives of the Company were political and administrative, those of the missionaries were religious and philanthropic. Hence the Company patronised schools of learning for the upper classes of society, while the missionaries organized primary schools giving instruction through the mother-tongue of the people in order to meet the needs of the Indian Christians and English schools for Anglo-Indian children. Their work was not very extensive during the period under review. But it has great value as *the pioneer work*

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Volume I, pp. 10-11.

which led to the building up of the modern educational system of India and hence deserves a careful study.

The origin of the missionary connection with India is one of those eternal problems of history which will always be discussed and never agreed upon. Legends are current which, if true, would put the beginning of missionary enterprise as far back as the first century of the Christian era.[1] But academic controversies apart, a study of Indian missions may well begin with the Roman Catholic Missions that came to India in the wake of the political power of the Portuguese. The activities of these early missionaries were mostly confined to proselytization which was carried on with very great vigour in some parts of the Western coastal strip of India. In fact, some historians hold the view that the excessive zeal of these Catholic missionaries aroused keen opposition from Indians and contributed materially to the downfall of the Portuguese power in India. Be that as it may, it is an undisputed fact that the educational work of these early missionaries was of very minor importance and contributed little to the building up of the modern system of education in India.

Later, when the Danes established their factories in India, the earliest Protestant missionaries—Ziegenbalg and Plustschau—began their activities at Tranquebar, a Danish station in the Presidency of Madras, in 1706. As the Danes did not obtain a footing in India, most of the Danish missionaries that succeeded these pioneers "substantially identified themselves with the English colonies in South India, halting where they halted and advancing where they advanced".[2] Other missions that came to India later followed the same policy and, as

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Richter rightly points out, "modern missionary work in India has as its background and setting the Anglo-Indian Empire; it is intimately connected with the beginnings of that empire; and has extended along with it from one end of the country to the other."[1]

Ziegenbalg and his colleagues did considerable missionary and educational work. For example, a printing press in Tamil was introduced in 1713. An institution for training teachers was opened at Tranquebar in 1716 and, in the following year, two charity schools were opened in Madras—one for Portuguese and the other for Tamil children. Ziegenbalg died in 1719 but his work was continued by other competent missionaries amongst whom may be mentioned the name of Schwartz[2] who is looked upon as the pioneer of education in the Madras Presidency. Of particular interest is the despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 1787, which speaks in glowing terms of the work of Schwartz and sanctions a grant-in-aid to his schools:—

> "The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the natives, having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India, and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing this desirable object, it is with great pleasure we learn from Mr. John Sulivan our late Resident at Tanjore, that he had, seconded in his laudable undertaking by the zealous exertions of the Reverend Mr. Swartz, prevailed on the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Rajahs of the great and little Marawar to establish schools for teaching English at Tanjore, Ramenedaporam and Shevagunga, the capitals of their respective countries, the two latter assigning Pagodas 300 (three hundred) each, for the support of their two seminaries. These works of peace Mr. Sulivan informs us have been interrupted by the calamities of War, and the funds assigned for their support

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 128.

[2] We have adopted the spelling used by Richter which is apparently the more correct form.

necessarily diverted to other purposes, but we hope they will revive with the restoration of tranquillity.

Highly approving of institutions calculated to establish mutual good faith; to enlighten the minds of the natives and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for this British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our Government so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind; we have determined to evince our desire of promoting their success, by contributing 250 pagodas per annum towards the support of each of the schools above mentioned, and of any other school which may be opened for the same purpose, and we accordingly direct you to pay such schools, respectively the annual stipend of 250 pagodas, flattering ourselves that our example will excite the Native Princes in alliance with us to similar and more extensive benefactions".[1]

This despatch has some historical importance. Firstly, it shows the sympathy which the Company evinced in these early years for the efforts of the missionaries; secondly, it shows the popularity of the missionary schools teaching English; thirdly, it records one of the earliest—if not the earliest—grant-in-aid sanctioned by the Company for missionary educational institutions.

But the times were changing fast, especially as the Company's empire began to grow, and the later missionaries that came into the field did not have the same good luck as Schwartz. The Company grew more and more particular about the maintenance of a policy of strict religious neutrality and positively discouraged missionary effort. The following passage shows how an enthusiastic missionary looked at this changed policy of the Company:—

"Further, the English officials had, almost without exception, abandoned the principles of Christian morality. Even a Governor-General like Warren Hastings and his inconvenient rival, Philip Francis, were not ashamed to live in open adultery. Their sole connection with the Church was that once a year,

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Volume I, pp. 3-4.

at Christmas or at Easter, they attended divine service in great state. . . Over-zealous Orientalists, moreover, sang the praises of the religions of the East, especially of the then newly discovered Indian religions and systems of philosophy, and even if every one did not go so far as to declare them to be better and truer than Christianity, still the general opinion was that they were quite good enough for the Hindus, and better adapted to their necessities than Western forms of religion. Besides all this the Company took up the narrow-minded point of view that it would have no European within its territories who was not engaged in its service or who did not hold its passport: if any such person were allowed, he would probably enter into business relationships behind its back and thus lessen its gains: or he might talk about its methods of colonial government on his return home, and there were many things which there was every reason to keep concealed from European eyes and ears." [1]

It was against such a policy that the missionaries in Bengal had to strive. The earliest among them were the three Protestant missionaries—Carey, Marshman and Ward— who began their work at the Danish settlement of Serampore[2] in 1793. They have become famous in history as *the Serampore Trio* and it must be admitted that they made an excellent combination from the missionary point of view because Carey was a great propagandist, Ward was a printer, and Marshman was a school teacher. But their zeal outran their discretion, and in 1808 they caused consternation among Indians by their publications entitled *Addresses to Hindus and Mahomedans.* The Company had to intervene and reaffirm its policy of religious neutrality.[3] The natural consequence was that the Serampore Trio did not obtain any encouragement from the Company during the first two decades of their work.

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 132.
[2] This place is about three miles north of Calcutta.
[3] Vide *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 4-6.

The position of missionary effort in India in 1812 is thus summed up by Richter:—

> "Taken all in all, it was a day of small things. About 1812, there existed mission stations at Serampore (still in the hands of the Danes) whence Calcutta was worked; out-stations of the Baptists of Dinajpur, in the indigo district, where Carey had laboured before settling in Serampore; and at Jessore, in the well-watered delta-district of Eastern Bengal. The London Missionary Society was busy in Dutch Chinsurah and at Vizagapatam In Madras and the Tamil country no new work had as yet sprung up alongside that of the veteran fathers of the Danish Mission. In the Kanarese country there was only the solitary station of Bellary, and that had been founded in 1812. In Bombay the first missionaries of a non-English Society, the American Board, had after great anxiety just managed to obtain a foothold. The only seed which appeared to be sprouting hopefully was the work of Ringeltaube in Southern Travancore."[1]

The missionaries and their friends, therefore, began an agitation in England intended to show that the anti-missionary policy of the Company was opposed to the teachings of Christ and that its neglect of the education of the Indian people was absolutely unjustifiable. Their agitation obtained considerable support and led ultimately to the educational clauses of the Charter Act of 1813.

5. **Contemporary Developments in England.** The period of about twenty-two years between the establishment of the Benares Sanskrit College (1791) and the Charter Act of 1813, forms a distinct epoch in the history of Indian education. Its main event was the acceptance by the Company, after a violent and prolonged opposition, of a direct responsibility for the education of the people—a development which cannot be properly understood unless one studies the contemporary history of education in England.

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 149.

The period of 1790-1820 is one of extraordinary philanthropic and educational activity in England. The Industrial Revolution had begun ; the towns were rapidly growing ; and the miserable lot of workers in the factories evoked great sympathy in religious or philanthropic people. The principles of socialism, however, were not yet fully developed and it was not realised that the root cause of the sufferings of the workers lay in the capitalistic system of society. It was believed rather that the sufferings of the poor were due to the lack of education and character. Hence the chief ameliorative measures proposed were the following :—

(i) to open up new avenues of employment,
(ii) to encourage thrift, and
(iii) to spread widely the elements of a religious education.

Numerous associations were formed to improve the conditions of the poor people of which it is sufficient to mention four—the Society for bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor (1796) ; the Sunday School Union (1803) ; the Royal Lancastrian Institution (1808) ; and the National Society for promoting the education of the Poor in the Principles of the established Church throughout England and Wales (1811).

Attempts were made to induce Parliament to take up the duty of educating the poor. Thus in 1807, Whitbread proposed a Bill for the establishment of schools supported by local taxation. His proposal was to give a two years' free schooling to all children between 7 and 14 years of age in reading, writing and arithmetic. The Bill passed the House of Commons but was negatived by the House of Lords and remained inoperative.

In 1816, at the instance of Brougham who had become

the main supporter of popular education in Parliament after Whitbread's death in 1815, the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to enquire into the education of poor children in the country. The Committee sat for two years and on receipt of its report, Brougham introduced, in 1820, a Bill "for better education of the poor in England and Wales". But there was a good deal of opposition to the measure and it had to be eventually withdrawn.

With this background in view, it is easy to understand why the agitation of missionaries was largely supported in England and how the Company was compelled to accept the responsibility for the education of the Indian people. The task was far from easy. In those days, education was not regarded as a responsibility of the State even in England ; and very naturally, the East India Company was not prepared to accept it in India. Secondly, the Company was influenced more by financial than by philanthropic motives and resisted all attempts to increase obligations having a tendency to cut down the dividends. Thirdly, the people of India themselves were most apathetic in the matter. Oppressed by the anarchy that followed the decay of the Mughal Empire, their one great need was the establishment of law and order and they hardly had the time or energy to ask for anything else from their rulers. But thanks to Providence, the silence of the people themselves was compensated for by the successful agitation which was organised on their behalf by philanthropists and religious enthusiasts in England and India, among whom may be mentioned the names of Burke, Charles Grant, Wilberforce and Lord Minto.

6. **The service of Burke to India** was not directly educational. But by his speeches on Indian questions

and more particularly by those during the impeachment of Warren Hastings, he kept the problems of India constantly in view of Parliament and helped to create a feeling that it was the bounden duty of His Majesty's Government in England to look after the well-being of the people of India and save them from the purely mercenary policy of a body of traders and from the clutches of such of the Company's servants as were demoralised and eager to make the largest fortune in the shortest time. It was the successful awakening of this feeling that led not only to the establishment of the educational system of the present day, but also to the removal of many other ills.

Burke was a philanthropist, pure and simple. He fought for the cause of the Indian people because his large heart overflowed with sympathy for all downtrodden people. But the two other persons that worked in the field—Grant and Wilberforce—were actuated by religious as well as by philanthropic motives. They advocated the cause of Indian education because they felt that it was through education alone that the moral and material condition of the Indian people would improve. But in their minds "education" was inextricably mixed with "religion" and they had a firm conviction that the teaching of Western knowledge would be inevitably accompanied by acceptance of the Christian faith. There was hardly any basis for such an assumption, and the subsequent history of English education in India has definitely falsified it. As the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe puts it, the pupils in English schools and colleges "lost their faith in Hindu superstitions but were unwilling to accept Christian superstitions as a substitute". But the belief that English education must be followed by conversions to Christianity was extremely

common in those days and was held by several thinkers besides Grant and Wilberforce. Irrespective of their motives, India is and must remain thankful to all these and other persons who advocated the cause of her education. But discerning critics will always assign a higher place in their estimation to pure philanthropists like Burke, Metcalfe or Macaulay than to religious enthusiasts like Grant or Wilberforce.

7. **Charles Grant** (1746-1823) first came to India in a Military capacity in 1767. He returned to England in 1770 but came back again in 1773 as a Factor. He rapidly accumulated a large fortune and returned to England in 1790. In 1802, he entered Parliament and in 1805, became the Chairman of the East India Company. During his stay in India, Grant had observed the "decadent condition of Indian society" and had become firmly convinced that nothing but the spread of Western "light and knowledge" could save the Indian people. On his return to England he took up this idea, and began to agitate for the sending out of missions to this country. In 1792, he wrote his *Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to their morals; and on the means of improving it.* This book had tremendous effect on the future development of education in India and hence deserves a careful perusal at the hands of educationists.

8. **Grant's Observations.** The first thing that strikes a reader in the Observations is the awful picture of the Indian society which it seeks to present. Consider the following excerpts:—

"In the worst parts of Europe there are no doubt a great number of men who are sincere, upright and conscientious. In Bengal, a man of real veracity and integrity is a great

phenomenon; one conscientious in the whole of his conduct, it is to be feared, is an unknown character. . . Power entrusted to a native of Hindoostan seldom fails of being exercised tyrannically, or perverted to the purpose of injustice. Official or ministerial employments of all sorts, and in all gradations are generally used as means of peculation. . . The distribution of justice . . . has commonly become a traffic in venality; the best cause being obliged to pay for success, and the worst having the opportunity of purchasing it, . . . Such is the power of money, that no crime is more frequent, hardly any less thought of, than perjury. . . The apathy with which a Hindoo views all persons and interests unconnected with himself, is such as excites the indignation of Europeans. . . Patriotism is absolutely unknown in Hindoostan." [1]

Can all this be literally true? Admittedly, the state of affairs was not quite happy in those last decades of the eighteenth century when the whole country was in the grip of the anarchy that followed the decay of the Mughal Empire. "It was a period when life and property were always in danger and when it was risky to confide even in one's dearest friend or relation; when learning was at a discount, appalling ignorance and superstition prevailed in the land, and the people were harassed by thugs, pindarees or mercenaries in alien employment". [2] Even after making due allowance for this unhappy background, one cannot but feel that Grant is exaggerating the evils. It is the more easy to think so because such keen observers as Elphinstone, Munro and Metcalfe who came in contact with all sections of Indian society have nowhere expressed a wholesale condemnation of the morals of the average Indian. One may, however, pardon Grant's exaggerations because his motives were honourable. As he himself puts it,

[1] *A Source Book of Modern Indian Education*, by M. R. Paranjpe, pp. viii-ix.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

"the delineation from which this conclusion is formed, has been a task so painful, that nothing except the consciousness of meaning to do good could have induced the author to proceed in it".

The good that men do should live after them, and hence it is desirable to concentrate now on the brighter side of the Observations, viz. Grant's proposals for reform. The following quotations speak for themselves:—

"The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us.

There are two ways of making this communication: the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries; the other is by the medium of our own. In general when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they have used the vernacular tongue of that people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other means of communication intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our eastern dependencies. They are our own, we have possessed them long, many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely. The choice, therefore, of either mode, lies open to us; and we are at liberty to consider which is entitled to a preference.

The acquisition of a foreign language is, to men of cultivated minds, a matter of no great difficulty. English teachers could, therefore, be sooner qualified to offer instruction in the native languages, than the Indians would be prepared to receive it in ours. This method would hence come into operation more speedily than the other; and it would also be attended with the advantage of a more cheerful selection of the matter of instruction. But it would be far more confined and less effectual; it may be termed a species of deciphering. The decipherer is required to unfold, in intelligible words, what was

before hidden. Upon every new occasion he has a similar labour to perform and the information obtained from him is limited to the single communication then made. All other writings in the same character, still remain, to those who are ignorant of it, unknown; but if they are taught the character itself, they can at once read every writing in which it is used. Thus superior, in point of ultimate advantage, does the employment of the English language appear; and upon this ground, we give a preference to that mode, proposing here that the communication of our knowledge shall be made by the medium of our own language.

We proceed then to observe, that it is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects; and let not the idea hastily excite derision, *progressively* with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error.

It would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of Provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English: multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching, might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects. . . The Hindoos would in time, become teachers of English themselves; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of Government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the administration of the revenue, in judicial proceedings, and in other business of Government, wherein Persian is now used, and the establishment of free-schools for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested, that the interest of the natives would induce them to acquire it." [1]

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 81-83.

It is easy to see that the proposals of Grant were almost *completely accepted by Government at a later date, especially after the able advocacy of Macaulay in favour* of English education.

9. **Wilberforce** (1759-1833), was a great philanthropist whose name is chiefly associated with the abolition of slavery. He belonged to the same Evangelical Party, known as the Clapham Sect, of which Charles Grant, and Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay, were members. He was elected to Parliament in 1780 and began to take an interest in Indian affairs soon afterwards. When the Charter of the Company was to be renewed in 1793, he had the following resolution carried in the House of Commons:—

> "That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement." [1]

But Wilberforce realised that a pious resolution like this had no administrative value; and hence he proposed to insert a clause in the Company's Charter to the effect that

> "the Court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise." [2]

The Court of Directors opposed this violently. They had now fully realized the importance of the policy of religious neutrality in consolidating their empire in India and also knew that the missionary with his excessive zeal

[1] *A History of Missions in India* by Richter, p. 149.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

for conversions invariably got into trouble with the Indian people. *Nor were they apparently anxious to undertake the duty of educating the Indian people* even apart from giving them religious guidance as desired by Wilberforce. For political and financial reasons, therefore, they urged that " the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed ",[1] and the proposal of Wilberforce was negatived by Parliament. Even after defeat, Grant and Wilberforce worked together and kept the agitation alive.

10. **Minto's Minute.** Side by side with these workers in England, some of the Company's officials in India also supported the cause of Indian education. Prominent among them was Lord Minto who was the Governor-General of India from 1806-1813. Minto was personally an admirer of Oriental Literature and felt that its study would be useful to the Western nations themselves. He was, therefore, very anxious that Englishmen should give all possible encouragement to the study and preservation of Indian Culture. In a Minute, dated 6th March 1811, he wrote:—

> " It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 17.

loss, of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.

The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any other, support.......

It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature."[1]

11. **Charter Act of 1813.** As a result of this combined agitation in England and India, the question of Indian education came up for discussion when the charter of the Company became due for renewal in 1813. The subject that was discussed most was that of a suitable agency for the spread of Indian education. One party, whose view is typified in that of Charles Grant, believed that the best education for Indians was to teach them English and the principles of the Christian religion and argued that the work should be left entirely to the missionaries. The other view, which was represented by Minto, believed that the best education for Indians was that of their own classics and argued that the Company itself should give it liberal encouragement. It was further argued by this party that encouragement to missionary enterprise was contrary to the principle of religious neutrality which was absolutely essential for

[1] Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company (1832), Appendix I, pp. 325-7.

the security of the Company's dominions. The history of this great controversy is best narrated in the following passage from Richter's *A History of Missions in India* :—

"In the meantime the Christian conscience of England had awakened. The nineteen years' fight for the abolition of slavery in the English Colonies, and which had been brought to a successful issue in 1807, had powerfully contributed to the revival of essentially Christian views of life. Wilberforce placed himself at the head of the new campaign for the freedom of missions in India. It was a skilful move just at this time to publish and circulate widely the already-mentioned work of the widely respected Charles Grant, *Concerning the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*. A former Governor-General of India, Lord Teignmouth, likewise lent his pen to the missionary cause. The recently founded Missionary Societies and their representatives, especially Fuller among the Baptists and C. Buchanan and Pratt amongst the Anglicans, assisted Wilberforce by all means in their power. No less than 850 petitions were laid down on the table of the House of Commons on behalf of the missionaries.

Nor were the opponents idle, especially former Indian officials, the influential "Anglo-Indians". The Sepoy rebellion in the Vellore district of South India in August 1806, which without the slightest justification was attributed to the missionaries, gave them an opportunity of violently declaiming against the mission of the "consecrated cobblers," which was "so dangerous to the State." The small and unimportant mutiny at Vellore had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the missionaries. Neither in Vellore nor in the neighbourhood did there exist one single mission station. Some alterations had been ordered in the soldiers' uniforms, especially in the arrangements of the turban. And the rebels had the firmly rooted idea that the Company desired to make them break caste and by guile or by force to make Christians of them. This insignificant circumstance sufficed to extinguish the last spark of sympathy with missions on the part of those in authority. Every kind of jest and satire was employed to make missions and their supporters an object of ridicule or to make them appear the enemies of the people. It was indeed a hot "mission fray", as some one has called it. The opponents of the clauses made

use of language which was provocative to a degree. Mr. Bensley, one of the Directors of the Company, summed up his position in the following words: 'So far from approving the proposed clause or listening to it with patience, from the first moment I heard of it I considered it the most wild, extravagant, expensive, and unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator.' On June 23rd, 1813, however, the victory was won, and on July 21st the law received the royal assent. . .

The 13th Resolution, the one in which the whole missionary question was really involved, ran as follows: 'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.' That meant that the missionaries were to be allowed to enter India and to reside there; they might preach, found churches, and discharge all spiritual duties; in a word, they might fulfil their missionary calling in its completest and widest sense. . ."[1]

The resolution thus marked a clear victory for the missionaries. Its opponents, however, had their own counter-victory. They succeeded in inserting a section in the Charter to the effect that "a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India".[2] The supporters of this resolution believed that "by fostering both Oriental and Occidental science. . . a reliable counterpoise, a protecting breakwater against the threatened deluge of missionary

[1] Pp. 150-51.
[2] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 22.

enterprise"[1] would be created. They little dreamed that this section of the Act was laying the foundation of a state educational system in India!

The Charter Act of 1813, therefore, forms a turning point in the history of Indian education. With it, the agitation which Grant and Wilberforce carried on for nearly twenty years came to a successful conclusion; the education of the Indian people was definitely included within the duties of the Company; a comparatively large amount was annually secured for educational activities; and missionaries began to land in India in large numbers and establish English schools, thereby laying the foundation of the modern educational system.

[1] *A History of Missions in India* by Richter, p. 152.

Chapter IV

A PERIOD OF EXPERIMENTS

(1813-1833)

1. **Three Schools of Educational Policy.** The period of twenty years between the two great charters of the Company, viz. those of 1813 and 1833, was one of experiments in the field of Indian Education. Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 had only defined the *objects* of the educational policy, viz. " the revival and improvement of literature ", " the encouragement of the learned natives of India ", and " the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India " ; but it had given no directions regarding the *methods* to be employed to secure these objects. It was but natural, therefore, that controversies should arise on the subject, and the events of the twenty years following the Charter Act of 1813, showed that three different schools of thought grew up among the Europeans connected with India :—

(*i*) The first school consisted of the older officials of the Company in Bengal who generally believed that the policy of Warren Hastings and Minto was the last word on educational statesmanship. They advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit and Arabic studies and suggested that Western science and knowledge should be spread in India through the medium of these languages.

(*ii*) The second school consisted of men like Munro and Elphinstone who believed in encouraging education through the medium of the modern Indian languages. They argued that this was the only way in which western

knowledge could reach the *mass* of the people.

(*iii*) The third school consisted of persons who believed in the wisdom of Grant's advice and advocated the spread of western knowledge through the medium of English. This school included the missionaries and the younger civilians in the employment of the Company. Their voice, though insignificant during the period under review, became of paramount importance at a later date.

Corresponding to these groups among Europeans, there were three groups among the few Indians who, even at this early date, took interest in educational matters. The conservative group—and this was perhaps the largest—favoured the first school; enlightened Indians in Bengal like Raja Ram Mohan Roy favoured the third school; and enlightened Indians in Bombay favoured the second school. But it must be remembered that at this time, Indian opinion wielded no influence whatsoever with Government, and that educational policies were made and unmade according to the rise or fall of the parties among the European servants of the Company alone.

As may be anticipated, the only authority which could silence these controversies was that of the Court of Directors. Had they given a definite ruling on the subject, all the servants of the Company would have been compelled to accept it and the development of education in India would have been more rapid and harmonious. But apparently, the Directors were unwilling to come to a definite decision. In effect, they agreed with each school and differed with all. They relied on the men on the spot and sanctioned all proposals that came up to them. This policy, or the lack of one, has been often ascribed to indifference; but this conclusion does not appear to be fair. We would rather attribute it to a desire on the Directors' part to give a trial to every

method before a final decision was arrived at.

2. **Official Efforts in India (1813-23).** With these introductory remarks, we will turn to the narration of the events of the period under review. We shall first describe the official efforts of the Company and then turn to the non-official efforts—both missionary and non-missionary.

As was pointed out in the last chapter, the Court of Directors had fought strenuously against the reforms proposed by Wilberforce and lost. They were, therefore, none too enthusiastic to spend the sum of one lakh of rupees on education as required by the Charter Act of 1813. On 3rd June 1814, they recorded their *First Educational Despatch,* setting forth the manner in which they proposed to encourage the learned natives of India and promote a knowledge of sciences among the Indian people. They wrote :—

> "We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established among them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances, by grants of pecuniary assistance..........
>
> We are informed that there are in Sanskrit Language.... treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences.
>
> With a view to these several objects, we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply

themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed for this purpose may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the science in question, and that their recompense should be liberal."[1]

As will be easily seen, the Court of Directors did not intend to do anything more than bestow " honorary marks of distinction " on learned natives of India, to give some financial assistance to a few deserving persons from their midst, and to encourage their own servants to study the Sanskrit language. A more disappointing document than this could hardly be imagined, and it is a sad fact of history that Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 remained inoperative till 1823.

3. **Agitation by Company's Officials.** Luckily, however, the responsible officers of the Company in those days would not accept these views of the Directors. They pressed for a vigorous educational policy and urged that it was the *duty* of England to spread education among the Indian people. For instance, Lord Moira, the Governor-General of India, (1813-23) wrote a Minute on Education on 2nd October 1815 in the course of which he proposed that the sum of one lakh of rupees should be spent in improving schools and in making the means of education available to persons and places then out of its reach. Adverting to the extreme importance and urgency of this measure, he said :—

" In the infancy of the British administration in this country, it was perhaps a matter of necessity to confine our legislation to the primary principle of justice. Not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of a refined humanity, but that coarse, though useful, virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises whose guide is the square and the rule, and whose support is the gallows.

The lapse of half a century and the operation of that

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 23-4.

principle have produced a new state of society which calls for a more enlarged and liberal policy. The moral duties require encouragement and experiment. The arts which adorn and embellish life will follow in ordinary course. It is for the credit of the British name that this beneficial revolution should rise under British sway. To be the source of blessings to the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country. In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here, the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is noble; may we till it worthily."[1]

Noble as were the sentiments expressed by Lord Moira, even more noble was the plea in favour of education made by Sir Charles Metcalfe. Replying to the objection that Indians may demand freedom if they were educated in Western knowledge, he wrote as under in his despatch dated 4th September 1815:—

"Similar objections have been urged against our attempting to promote education of our native subjects, but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections! The world is governed by an irresistible power which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of man against the operations of its Almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India, and the admiration of the world, will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects, from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep our dominion, we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, hisses and execrations of mankind. These remarks are offered in reply to objections which may be and have been, urged against our conferring on our Indian subjects the blessings of independence and education. My own opinion is that the more blessings we confer on them, the better hold we shall have on their affections and in consequence the greater strength and duration to our empire.

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 28-9.

It is for the wisdom of Government to decide whether this expectation is visionary or founded on reason."[1]

4. **Contemporary Developments in England.** These and other protests from the Company's servants had considerable effect. But even more important was the influence of the spirit of reform and liberalism that ruled English life in the decade 1823-33. The barbarous criminal laws of England, which inflicted the punishment of death on slight offences, were modified in 1823 and a hundred felonies were exempted from capital punishment. "The equally barbarous laws which had kept the working classes bound as serfs to the British soil, and in convenient subordination to their employers, were repealed in 1824, and combinations of workmen to obtain better wages were no longer forbidden."[2] The disabilities of Catholics who could not sit in Parliament or hold important offices under the Crown were removed in 1830. After an intense and prolonged agitation, Lord Grey and Lord John Russell piloted the First Reform Act successfully through Parliament in 1832. The reformed Parliament first assembled in 1833 and abolished slavery at a cost of £20,000,000 to the national Exchequer (paid to slave-owners by way of compensation), and in the same year, the first Parliamentary grant for education was sanctioned, and the employment of children in factories was restricted.

It was inevitable that this spirit of liberalism should have its effect on Indian administrators also. As Romesh Chandra Dutt points out

"the same spirit of reform, and the same desire to promote the happiness of the people marked the policy of England and of India during this progressive age; and the noble and liberal-minded statesmen who guided the destinies of England during

[1] *Adam's Reports*—Calcutta Edition, p. 406.
[2] *England and India* by R. C. Dutt, p. 32.

this age, worked side by side with statesmen equally great and large-hearted, who ruled the destinies of India. To try to read Indian history apart from English history would be an endeavour to understand a result without knowing the cause. The same moving force determined events in both countries; the extension of privileges to the people of India during this period is the counterpart of the Reform Act in England; and Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck were inspired by the same reforming spirit and the same desire to benefit humanity as Canning, Grey, and Lord John Russell."[1]

5. **Official Efforts in India (1823-33).** It is hardly a matter of surprise, therefore, if the cause of education in India got a great fillip in the years between 1823 and 1833. The unwillingness of the Directors to incur expenditure on education now gave place to a desire to spend liberally and, in 1824, they wrote as under to the Governor-General of India:—

"We wish you to be fully apprised of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the natives of India, and of our willingness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us."[2]

It was quite natural, therefore, that the work of organising a state system of education was begun almost simultaneously in all the three presidencies by about 1823 and continued to expand till 1833 when, following the example of the first Parliamentary grant for education, the educational grant of India also was increased from one lakh to ten lakhs of rupees.

(a) *The Presidency of Bengal* was the first to take up the work of educational reorganisation which was made possible by the liberal attitude of the Court of Directors. In a resolution dated 17th July 1823, the Governor-General-in-Council appointed a "General Committee of Public Instruction" for the Bengal Presidency. The

[1] *England and India* by R. C. Dutt, p. 39.
[2] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I. p. 92.

Committee consisted of ten members and included H. T. Prinsep, who became famous later on by his opposition to Macaulay, and H. H. Wilson who was a great Oriental scholar. The grant of one lakh of rupees provided by the Charter Act of 1813 was also placed at the disposal of the Committee.

The Committee consisted mostly of persons who were great admirers of Sanskrit and Arabic literature and hence the decision of the Committee to follow the view of Lord Minto and encourage Oriental Learning can hardly be regarded with surprise. Between 1823 and 1833, the Committee

(*i*) reorganised the Calcutta Madrassah and the Benares Sanskrit College;
(*ii*) established a Sanskrit College at Calcutta in 1824;
(*iii*) established two more Oriental Colleges at Agra and Delhi;
(*iv*) undertook the printing and publication of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale; and
(*v*) employed Oriental scholars to translate English books containing useful knowledge into the Oriental classical languages.

But very soon after its establishment the Committee found that its work had roused considerable opposition. The first attack came from a few enlightened Indians led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Raja submitted a memorial to the Governor-General on 11th December 1823 and urged that the proposals for establishing a Sanskrit College at Calcutta should be abandoned and Government should "promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction; embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences; which may be accomplished with the sum

proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus ".[1] This memorial is a good indication of the direction in which the wind was beginning to blow and shows how the desire for English education was spreading among Indians. But no heed was paid to this memorial and the plan for establishing the Sanskrit College at Calcutta was carried out. Referring to this incident, Howell remarks :—

> "It is one of the most unintelligible facts in the history of English education in India that at the very time when the natives themselves were crying out for instruction in European literature and science and were protesting against a continuance of the prevailing orientalism, a body of English gentlemen appointed to initiate a system of education for the country was found to insist upon the retention of oriental learning to the practical exclusion of European learning."[2]

But Howell is hardly fair to the Committee. As Sharp points out, " there was truth on both sides. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, and his enlightened followers, were doubtless opposed not only by the prudence or timidity of the Committee, but by a good deal of feeling among the more conservative ranks of the Bengalis ".[3]

A still more formidable attack on the Committee's work came from the Court of Directors themselves. In a despatch, dated 18th February 1824, they wrote :—

> "The ends proposed in the institution of the Hindoo College, and the same may be affirmed of the Mahomedan, were two ; the first to make a favourable impression by our encouragement of their literature upon the minds of the natives ; and the second to promote useful learning. You acknowledge that

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 101.
[2] *Education in British India* by A. P. Howell, p. 18.
[3] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 80-1.

if the plan has had any effect of the former kind it has had none of the latter ;...........

"With respect to the sciences it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the Oriental books. As far as any historical documents may be found in the Oriental languages what is desirable is that they should be translated and this, it is evident, will best be accomplished by Europeans who have acquired the requisite knowledge. Beyond these branches what remains in Oriental literature is poetry; but it has never been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry, nor is it certain that this would be the most effectual expedient for the attainment of the end.......

"We apprehend that the plan of the institutions to the improvement of which our attention is now directed was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning. No doubt in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media* or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted while every thing which was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing under these reservations a system of instruction from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing on the other hand to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned."[1]

This despatch set the Committee thinking. "The Directors urged a bold advance and were backed up, not very zealously, by the Governor-General. The Committee, in close touch with the majority of public opinion and the view of the *pandits,* hesitated to embark on so large a measure of innovation".[2] It urged that the

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 91-2.
[2] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 81.

Hindus and Mahomedans still had "vigorous prejudices" against European learning, that Oriental literature was not to be summarily condemned and that it had a utility of its own, that the use of a classical language as a medium of instruction was unavoidable, that there were neither books nor teachers available just then to impart instruction in European sciences through such a medium, that the Committee was concentrating on the preparation of such books and the training of such teachers, and that, ere long, the Directors' instructions would be fully complied with. The plea was accepted by the Directors and the Committee continued its work of encouraging classical education.

But public opinion was rapidly growing in favour of English education. Several factors contributed to this end. The work of the missionaries had greatly popularised English education. Secondly, Indian leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy were also urging their countrymen to study the language and literature of England and through it, to acquire a knowledge of the Western sciences. Thirdly, English was growing in political importance as the language of the rulers and persons desirous of obtaining lucrative posts under Government found that a capacity to speak and write English materially helped them in their object. In fact, the study of English was rapidly becoming the royal road to a black-coated profession with a decent income and an important status in society. It is not to be wondered, therefore, if many Indians of that generation looked forward to English education as a panacea for all their ills.

This growing demand for English could not, therefore, be long neglected by the General Committee of Public Instruction and steps had to be taken to meet it to some extent at least. Thus by 1833, the Committee attached

English classes to the College at Agra and the Calcutta Madrassah. At Delhi and Benares, district English schools were established. But these half measures could hardly be expected to satisfy the public need. In 1823, the Committee was perhaps justified in holding on to classical education for fear of offending Indian people. But its persistence in this policy in the face of a public demand to the contrary led to a split in the Committee itself. Some members continued to be in favour of giving encouragement to Hindu and Mahomedan learning while others pleaded for a spread of Western knowledge through the medium of English. A conflict of ideologies thus ensued and led to the celebrated controversy regarding the medium of instruction which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

(*b*) We shall now turn to the official attempts for the spread of education in the *Presidency of Bombay*. The rule of the Peshwa came to an end in 1818 and the Province of Bombay, as it stands today (except for a small area which was annexed later on), was formed in the same year. The Peshwa used to spend about Rs. 5,00,000 a year in giving Dakshina to the Brahmins. It was now decided that this expenditure should be stopped and that a part of it should be used for the encouragement of Brahmanic learning. The Poona Sanskrit College was, therefore, established in 1821. The objects of Government in establishing the College are seen in the following paragraph from the pen of Mountstuart Elphinstone :—

> "One of the principal objects of the Peshwa's Government was the maintenance of Brahmins. It is known to the Honourable Court that he annually distributed five lacs of rupees among that order under the name of Dakshina; but it must be observed that the Dakshina formed but a small portion of his largesses to Brahmins, and the number of persons

devoted to Hindu learning and religion, who were supported by him, exceeded what would readily be supposed. With all the favour that we have shown this class of his dependents, great numbers of them are reduced to distress, and are subsisting on the sale of shawls and other articles, which they received in better times, while others have already reached the extremity of want which follows the consumption of all their former accumulation. Considering the numbers and the influence of this description of people, it surely cannot be reckoned unimportant towards influencing public opinion that such a sum as could be spared should be set aside for their maintenance; and as it is the object of our enemies to inculcate the opinion that we wish to change the religion and manners of the Hindus, it seems equally popular and reasonable to apply part of that sum to the encouragement of their learning."[1]

The conduct of the Poona Sanskrit College, therefore, was the main educational activity of the Government till 1823 when the Bombay Native Education Society[2] applied to it for grant-in-aid. It was on this application that Elphinstone wrote his famous Minute on education. This document is of considerable importance as giving an insight into Elphinstone's proposals for the organisation of a state system of education in Bombay. He suggested that Government should adopt the following seven measures:—

"1st, to *improve* the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to *increase* the number of schools; 2nd, to supply them with school-books; 3rd, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them; 4th, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education; 5th, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages; 6th, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the

[1] Elphinstone's *Minute on Education*, para. 60.
[2] *Vide* section 9(c) *infra*.

European discoveries; 7th, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge."[1]

Elphinstone knew that the above proposals would involve Government in considerable expenditure. But he held the view that the education of the poor must largely be a charge on public revenues and argued that the greatness of the expense of his proposals was compensated for by the magnitude of their object. "It is difficult to imagine", he said,

> "an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this."[2]

Certain features of Elphinstone's proposals deserve special notice. It will be seen that he stood for mass education through the medium of the mother-tongue. He gave the first place in his programme to the improvement of indigenous schools and to their extension. Secondly, he suggested the teaching of English *classically* and did not insist on its use as the sole medium of instruction. He was not opposed to the idea of using English as a medium of instruction but felt that the people would not respond properly if English were used for the purpose. He wrote:—

> "If English could be at all diffused among persons who had the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge, by means of it, would be accelerated in a tenfold ratio, since every man who made himself acquainted with a science through English would be able to communicate it in his own language to his countrymen. At present, however, there is

[1] Elphinstone's *Minute on Education*, para 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, para 43.

but little desire to learn English with any such view. The first step towards creating such a desire would be to establish a school at Bombay where English might be taught classically, and where instruction might also be given in that language on history, geography, and the popular branches of science."[1]

When this Minute was placed before the Governor's Council, Warden, who was a member of the Council at that time, violently opposed the proposals of Elphinstone. He did not agree with the idea that Government should accept any responsibility for the education of the masses. He was one of the earliest officials to enunciate the *downward filtration theory* according to which culture was supposed to spread naturally from the upper classes of society to the lower ones and Government need only educate a few persons in the upper strata in order to educate the people as a whole. He also attached paramount importance to English education and did not like the way in which Elphinstone made it follow upon primary education at a respectable distance. He wrote :

> "It is better and safer to commence by giving a good deal of knowledge to a few than a little to many, to be satisfied with laying the foundation of good edifice and not desire to accomplish in a day what must be the work of a century. But the object of giving a good deal of knowledge to a few can only be promoted by a better system of education ; and the surest mode of diffusing a better system is by making the study of the English language the primary, and not merely the secondary object of attention in the education of the natives."[2]

This controversy between Elphinstone and Warden clearly shows how the problem in Bombay was entirely different from that in Bengal. In Bengal the conflict arose between classical languages on one hand and English on the other, and it is surprising that the champions of neither party said anything in favour of the

[1] Elphinstone's *Minute on Education,* para 27.

[2] *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons,* 1832, Appendix I (public), p. 384.

mother-tongue of the pepole. But in Bombay, the conflict between classical and modern Indian languages was settled years ago by the mediæval saints who wrote in the language spoken and understood by the masses. Hence Bombay opinion was not prepared to accept the view later championed by Macaulay that " the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them ". On the other hand, the view popularly held in Bombay was that Government should concentrate on the spread of education through the mother-tongue, and no one even suggested the adoption of a classical language as the medium of instruction. Consequently, when the conflict regarding the medium of instruction arose in Bombay, it arose between the mother-tongue and English and not between a classical language and English as in Bengal. This, however, will be dealt with in Chapter VI.

Owing to this difference of opinion between Elphinstone and Warden, the Court of Directors did not accord sanction to all the proposals of Elphinstone. They accepted the Bombay Native Education Society as their agent for organization of education in the Province and hence no Committee of Public Instruction was appointed in Bombay. They also sanctioned a grant of Rs. 600 *per mensem* to the Society and undertook to bear the cost of compiling and printing its school books. The proposals of Elphinstone were thus side-tracked, and when he left Bombay in 1827, he was deeply grieved that differences in his Council should have prevented him from achieving substantial results in expanding education.

Upto 1833, the only educational activities of the

Government of Bombay were the conduct of the Poona Sanskrit College and the payment of grants to the Bombay Education Society and the Bombay Native Education Society.

(c) *The Presidency of Madras* was the last to come into the field. Reference has already been made to the circular issued by Munro in 1822 for obtaining information regarding the indigenous system of education. As a result of this enquiry, he found that the condition of education in this Province was at a low ebb on account of the absence of encouragement from Government and the poverty of the people. In his famous Minute, dated 10th March 1826, Munro made the following proposals for the improvement of education in his Province :—

> "These difficulties may be gradually surmounted. The hindrance which is given to education by the poverty of the people may in a great degree be removed by the endowment of schools throughout the country by Government, and the want of encouragement will be remedied by good education being rendered more easy and general, and by the preference which will naturally be given to well-educated men in all public offices. No progress, however, can be made without a body of better instructed teachers than we have at present; but such a body cannot be had without an income sufficient to afford a comfortable livelihood to each individual belonging to it. A moderate allowance should, therefore, be secured to them by Government, sufficient to place them above want. The rest should be derived from their own industry. If they are superior both in knowledge and diligence to the common village school master, scholars will flock to them and augment their income.
>
> What is first wanted, therefore, is a school for educating teachers, as proposed by the Committee of Madras School Book Society, in the letter of the 25th October, 1824, which accompanied their second report. I think that they should be authorised to draw 700 rupees monthly from the Treasury for the purposes which they have stated; namely, for the payment of the interest of money employed in building and the

salaries of teachers, 500; and for the expenses of the press, 200. I would next propose that Government should establish in each Collectorate, two principal schools, one for Hindus and the other for Mahomedans; and that hereafter, as teachers can be found, the Hindu schools might be augmented so as to give one to each Tahsildary, or about 15 to each Collectorate. We ought to extend to Mahomedan the same advantages of education as to our Hindu subjects, and perhaps even in a greater degree, because a greater proportion of them belong to the middle and higher classes. But as their number is not more than one-twentieth of that of the Hindus, it will not be necessary to give more than one Mahomedan school to each Collectorate, except in Arcot, and a few other Collectorates, where the Mahomedan population is considerably above the usual standard.

The total expense of the schools will be as follows:

	Rs.
Madras School Book Society, per month	700
Collectorate schools, Mahomedans, 20 at Rs. 15 ..	300
Collectorate schools, Hindus, 20 at Rs. 15 ..	300
Tahsildary schools, 300 at Rs. 9	2,700
Total per month.	4,000
Total per annum.	48,000

This expense will be incurred only by degrees, because it will be long before a sufficient number of qualified teachers can be obtained. The charges for the Madras School Book Society and the Collectorate schools, are all that will probably be wanted before the sanction of the Honourable Court can be received. The sum for which we ought to request their sanction ought not to be less than half a lac of rupees. None of the endowments in the Collector's reports are applicable to the present object. They do not exceed 20,000 rupees in all and only a small portion of them are public grants, and this small portion belongs chiefly to the teachers of Theology, Law and Astronomy. Whatever expense Government may incur in the education of the people, will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by

exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people...

We must not be too sanguine in expecting any sudden benefit from the labours of the School Book Society. Their disposition to promote the instruction of the people by educating teachers, will not extend it to more individuals than now attend the schools; it can be extended only by means of an increased demand for it, and this must arise chiefly from its being found to facilitate the acquisition of wealth or rank, and from the improvement in the condition of the people rendering a larger portion of them more able to pay for it. But though they cannot educate those who do not seek, or cannot pay for education, they can, by an improved system, give a better education to those who do receive it; and by creating and encouraging a taste for knowledge, they will indirectly contribute to extend it. If we resolve to educate the people, if we persevere in our design, and if we do not limit the schools to Tahsildaries, but increase their number so as to allow them for smaller districts, I am confident that success will ultimately attend our endeavours."[1]

It would be interesting to compare the above plans of Munro with those of the Bombay Education Society described in a later section. The similarity is too close to be purely accidental and it may be that Munro got his ideas from Elphinstone.

Munro's proposals were sanctioned by the Court of Directors in 1828. But unfortunately Munro himself had departed this world in 1827, and those who followed him had neither the sympathy nor the vision of Munro so that the experiment was tried in a very half-hearted manner. By 1830, only about 70 Tahsildary schools had been established and even before the scheme had begun to work, the Directors wrote on 29th September 1830 that the Government of Madras would do well to concentrate on the spread of English education rather than on an attempt to spread education among the

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 74-6.

masses! Their letter on this subject deserves a careful perusal:—

"By the measures originally contemplated by your Government no provision was made for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. A further extension of the elementary education which already existed, and an improvement of its quality by the multiplication and diffusion of useful books in the Native languages, was all that was aimed at. It was indeed proposed to establish at the Presidency a central school for the education of teachers, but the teachers were to be instructed only in those elementary acquirements which they were afterwards to teach in the Tahsildaree and collectorate schools. The improvements in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes of the persons posessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. *By raising the standard of instruction among these classes you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class.* You are moreover acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of Natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their country than has hitherto been the practice under our Indian Governments. The measures for Native education which have yet been adopted or planned at your Presidency have had no tendency to produce such persons. Measures have been adopted by the Supreme Government for placing within the reach of higher classes of Natives under the Presidency of Bengal instruction in the English language and in European Literature and Science. These measures have been attended with a degree of success which, considering the short time during which they have been in operation, is in the highest degree satisfactory and justifies the most sanguine hopes with respect to the practicability of spreading useful knowledge among the Natives of India and diffusing among them the ideas and sentiments prevalent in civilized Europe.

We are desirous that similar measures should be adopted at your Presidency."[1]

Although this letter did not immediately kill the schools established by Munro—these continued to have an indifferent existence till 1836—it effectually stopped their expansion and the problem of mass education in Madras received a great set-back and continued to be neglected till 1868.

6. **Expenditure on Education.** The foregoing account of the official attempts in the three Presidencies may well be closed with the following statement of *the total educational expenditure* incurred by the Company between the years 1813 and 1830 :—

Year	Bengal	Madras	Bombay	Total
	£	£	£	£
1813	4,207	480	442	5,129
1814	11,606	480	499	12,585
1815	4,405	480	537	5,422
1816	5,146	480	578	6,204
1817	5,177	480	795	6,452
1818	5,211	480	630	6,321
1819	7,191	480	1,270	8,941
1820	5,807	480	1,401	7,688
1821	6,882	480	594	7,956
1822	9,081	480	594	10,155
1823	6,134	480	594	7,208
1824	19,970	480	1,434	21,884
1825	57,122	480	8,961	66,563
1826	21,623	480	5,309	27,412
1827	30,077	2,140	13,096	45,313
1828	22,797	2,980	10,064	35,841
1829	24,663	3,614	9,799	38,076
1830	28,748	2,946	12,636	44,330

N.B.—At this time a pound was equal to ten rupees.

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 179-80.

7. **Indigenous schools and colleges.** We shall now turn to the non-official efforts in the field of Indian education. These included—

(1) The vast system of indigenous schools and colleges;

(2) The schools conducted by the missionaries; and

(3) The schools of a modern type conducted by non-missionaries.

An account of the indigenous schools and colleges has already been given in Chapters I and II—where reference is also made to the surveys of indigenous education that were held in this period. An analysis of the proposals of Munro given above, and of the plans of the Bombay Native Education Society given in a later section will show that neither in Madras nor in Bombay was any effort made to assist or expand the system of indigenous education. In Bengal, certain isolated grants to indigenous education seem to have been given by the General Committee of Public Instruction. Thus Fisher records that a claim of Rs. 100 p.m. was sanctioned by the Committee for the tols at Nadia. He also mentions the sanction given by the Committee to the allowance of Re. one per day on behalf of a Madrassa in the village of Burbah. Several other instances also are on record.[1] It must be pointed out, however, that some of these payments, if not all, were more in the nature of continuance of grants sanctioned by earlier rulers. But whatever the nature of these grants may have been, such isolated instances cannot constitute *a system of encouragement to indigenous education;* and it is admitted on all hands that, during the period under review, indigenous schools and colleges were

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 182-92.

utterly neglected in the official schemes for the expansion and improvement of education.

8. **Missionary Enterprise (1813-33).** It was pointed out in the last chapter that the Charter Act of 1813 opened India to Missionary Societies. Consequently the period of 1813-33 was one of great missionary activity in all parts of the Company's dominions. The missionary societies that were already working in India expanded their activities and new societies came into the field. Among these latter, special mention must be made of the General Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Mission and the Scotch Missionary Society.

The *General Baptist Missionary Society* took the field in 1822 and commenced work in the Province of Orissa. The *London Missionary Society* began its activities simultaneously at several important places. Thus one of its workers, the Rev. Robert May, established elementary schools at Chinsura which became very popular and obtained a grant of Rs. 800 p.m. from Lord Hastings, the then Governor-General of Bengal. Its other stations were at Bhowanipur and Berhampore in Bengal, at Nagercoil and Neyoor in Travancore where the missionary activities were carried on extensively, at Madras (1813), Kumbhakonam and Chitoor (1825), Salem (1827), Coimbatore (1830), Vizagapatam (1805), Cuddappah (1822) and Bellary (1812) in Madras Presidency, at Bangalore (1820) in the Mysore State, at Belgaum (1820) and Surat (1819) in the Bombay Presidency and at Benares (1820). The *Church Missionary Society* stepped into the field immediately after the renewal of the Charter. It established three chief centres at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. From the Calcutta Centre, missionary stations were established

at Burdwan (1816), Agra (1813), Meerut (1815), Benares (1817), Azamgarh and Jaunpur (1831). The Bombay Branch made slow progress and had only one station at Nasik (1832). In the Madras Province, the Society's most important station was at Tinnevelly where, by 1835, the Society was conducting 107 schools with 2,882 scholars. The *Wesleyan Mission* began at Trichinopoly (1818) and then extended their work mainly to the Mysore State establishing stations at Gubbi, Mysore, and Tumkur by about 1838. The *Scotch Missionary Society* began in 1822 but its work gathered strength only when the great missionaries John Wilson (1829), Alexander Duff (1830), and John Anderson (1837) began to work at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras respectively.

The foregoing account of the expansion of missionary stations will show how rapidly the work of the missionary societies expanded during the period under review. Unfortunately, no statistics of their educational activities are available. But it may be taken as a safe generalisation, that educational activities were almost invariably connected with every mission station.

Two features regarding the educational work of the missionaries deserve special notice. Firstly, it must be remembered that education was never the *main* object of the missionaries. They aimed at conversions and were obliged to take up educational work in order to meet the needs of the converted population and, more especially, to train up Indian assistants for their proselytising activities. Secondly, the importance which the early missionaries attached to the study of modern Indian languages deserves special mention. They had to work among the lowest classes of society who could not understand any language except their own. Hence

the missionaries assiduously studied the Indian languages, prepared dictionaries, wrote books on grammar, and translated the Bible into them. It is worthy of note that most of the earlier mission schools gave instruction through the mother-tongue of the people and it never occurred to the Indian missionaries to say that "the dialects commonly spoken among the natives ...... are so poor and rude that ...... it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them"—a statement regarding the truth of which the Company's officials were entirely convinced!

The missionary schools for the teaching of English were a development of later years. Reference has already been made to the general belief prevalent among Europeans at this time that a study of English literature and Science would be inevitably followed by conversion to Christianity. The missionaries, therefore, organised English schools firstly because they hoped to secure converts from their pupils and secondly because these schools enabled them to preach the gospel to the upper classes of society to whom they had hardly any other means of approach. A great lead in this direction was given by Duff who himself started an English school in Calcutta in 1830. Duff's faith in the potential power of English education to secure converts soon infected almost all the missionaries working in the field of Indian education and English schools conducted by missionaries began to multiply very rapidly after 1830. This development will, however, be treated in Chapter VII.

9. **Non-missionary effort.** Schools of the modern type conducted by private non-missionary agencies were extremely limited during the period under review. But as they have now developed to such an extent as to form the bulk of the educational activities of today, a closer exami-

nation of their humble beginning of a century ago has its own peculiar interest.

(*a*) **Bengal.** In 1816, a society was formed at Calcutta at the instance of Raja Ram Mohan Roy—most of the members being Indians—with the object of educating the sons of Hindoos in the sciences of Europe and particularly the language and literature of England. The association collected a fund of more than a lakh of rupees and established a Vidyalaya in 1817. As far as can be ascertained, this was the first Association of Indians formed for the spread of English education in India. In 1817, a society called the Calcutta School Book Society was formed with the object of publishing suitable books for the moral and intellectual improvement of the people and in 1819, another society called the Calcutta School Society was established in order to promote primary education. All these institutions received grants-in-aid from the Company.

(*b*) **Madras.** In Madras, non-missionary private effort was practically non-existent during the period under review. The only institution worthy of mention was the Madras School Society similar to that established in Bengal. It received a grant-in-aid of Rs. 6,000 a year from the Company.

(*c*) **Bombay.** As pointed out earlier, neither the educational activities of the Company nor those of missionaries were considerable in this Province. Consequently the work of private non-missionary agencies developed to a greater extent in Bombay than in the other two provinces.

In 1815, the members of the Church of England who were resident in Bombay formed a society for the promotion of the education of poor children. Dealing with

the objects of the society (known later as the Bombay Education Society) its first annual report observes:

> "There are the European soldiers. They, at their embarcation, are not permitted to take home with them their native families; and no provision being made for them in the country, their children are thrown upon the world totally unprovided for; the mother is in most cases totally unable to afford them the common necessaries of life; in some cases indeed the mother is dead and then the children become associated with the lowest profligates. There are again lower classes of Europeans. They are driven to this country by their crimes or their vices. They generally co-habit either with low native women or native Portuguese women. In cases of family quarrels the woman carries off the children and brings them up among her own relatives. So on the 29th of January 1815 a very respectable meeting of European gentlemen started this society with the benevolent object of training up the children of their own countrymen in pious attachment to the principles of Christianity and implanting in their minds such other knowledge and habits of industry as might render them useful members of the community."

The Society began its activities by taking over the Charity School established in Bombay by Rev. Richard Cobbe in 1718 and by starting others. As the Society admitted Indian children also to its schools without compelling them to be present at religious instruction, many Hindu, Parsee and Muslim children attended them. By 1820, the Society conducted four schools for Indian children with about 250 pupils on their rolls.

In the same year, the Society appointed a special committee called the Native School and School Book Committee. The idea was evidently inspired by similar societies started in Calcutta but credit is particularly due to Mountstuart Elphinstone who was then the Governor of Bombay and President of the Society and who took keen interest in the spread of education among Indians. The objects of this Committee were

two-fold: to improve existing schools for Indian children and establish or aid new ones—wherever necessary; and secondly, to prepare books for the use of Indian children under instruction.

In 1822, the Society's work for Indian children had grown considerably and it, therefore, rightly felt that it had undertaken activities which went far beyond its original aims. Hence the special Committee appointed by it two years earlier was now formed into a separate Society called the Bombay Native School Book and School Society (known by the handier epithet of Bombay Native Education Society since 1827), to look after the education of Indian children and the parent Society restricted its activities to the education of European or Anglo-Indian children only.

Soon after its formation, the Bombay Native Education Society appointed a sub-committee to examine the existing system of education in the Province and to suggest measures for its extension and improvement. On receipt of the Committee's report in 1823, the Society decided to adopt the following measures and to that end to seek financial assistance from Government:—

(*i*) Preparation of suitable books for use in schools;

(*ii*) Training of six Indians in each of the four languages of the Province (Gujerathi, Marathi, Kannad and Urdu) in the Monitorial system of education and the organisation of Government Primary schools under them in the several districts of the Province; and

(*iii*) Establishment of Schools for education in English.

The Society then applied to the Government of Bombay for a grant-in-aid. It was this application which occasioned Elphinstone's Minute on education which has been already analysed and discussed. It was on his

recommendation that the Bombay Native Education Society was recognised as the official agency for the spread of education among the people and paid a grant-in-aid by the Company.

The Bombay Native Education Society made very good progress between 1824 and 1833, mainly owing to the encouragement of Elphinstone and the liberality with which the Indian residents of Bombay contributed to its funds. In 1824, an English school was established in Bombay, which later became the Elphinstone High School. In 1826, the Society started 24 primary schools at various places in the Districts and placed them under specially trained teachers. In the same year, it started an Engineering Class and a Medical Class in Bombay—the medium of instruction in both being the mother-tongue of the students. And by 1833, it was conducting four English Schools at Bombay, Thana, Panvel, and Poona and several primary schools. Between 1826 and 1830, the Society had also printed nearly 50,000 volumes and incurred an expenditure of more than Rs. 2,00,000 in their preparation and printing. These books which were mostly in the mother-tongue of the people sold in very large numbers and actually brought in some profit to the publishers—a fact which was in significant contrast to the position in Bengal where the classical publications of the General Committee of Public Instruction could hardly find a market.

10. **The Charter Act of 1833.** The Charter of the Company came again for renewal in 1833. Before any decision was taken on the question Parliament instituted a thorough enquiry into the administration of the Company's affairs. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed for the purpose contains a full and comprehensive review of the

educational system of those days and is a document of great importance and interest to a student of the history of Indian Education.

The Charter was eventually renewed in 1833 for another term of 20 years. It did not contain any direct educational clauses but some of its provisions had a great indirect influence on the future course of Indian education. Firstly, it contained a clause to the effect that no Indian should be debarred from holding any post under the Company by reason of his caste or creed. Secondly, it threw India open to missionaries from all countries.[1] Thirdly, it strengthened the control of the Government of Bengal over that of the two other Presidencies, and thus made it possible for the Governor-General of Bengal to lord his policy and opinions upon the governments of other provinces. Fourthly, it added a Law Member to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of Bengal which had hitherto consisted of three members only. The first Law Member to be appointed was Macaulay who came to India in 1834 and, as we shall see in the next chapter, turned a new page in the history of education in India.

[1] 'At the same time, India was thrown open to the whole world and any and every honest man who liked might settle there. This provision opened up India likewise to the missionary activity of other nations. It was in this year that the missionary labours of the Non-English Missionary Societies began in India.'—Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 192.

CHAPTER V

TRIUMPH OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN BENGAL

(1833-1853)

1. **The Anglicist-Classicist Controversy.** As we saw in the last chapter, the General Committee of Public Instruction was divided on the question of its educational policy particularly in regard to the medium of instruction. These differences, which were present almost from the inception of the Committee in 1823, came to a head by about 1834. Out of the ten members of the Committee, five supported the policy of giving encouragement to Oriental literature and were known as the Oriental party and the rest were in favour of the adoption of English as a medium of instruction and were known as the English party. The Oriental party was led by H. T. Prinsep who was then the Secretary to Government of Bengal in the Education Department, and consisted of the older members of the Company's service. The English party had no definite leader. It consisted mostly of the younger servants of the Company who looked forward to the support of Macaulay who was then the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction and the Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. In this connection the following excerpt from Prinsep's diary is very interesting:—

"There was, however, a class of Anglo-Indians, and the younger civil servants mostly joined it, who were opposed to Government's assisting to give instruction in any kind of Eastern literature or science, the whole of which they declared

to be immoral, profane or nonsensical. They especially attacked the Sanskrit Mythology and in this they were aided of course by the missionaries, but the use of Persian in our courts and in the correspondence of the Governor-General was also an object of their antipathy. It had been yielded to this party during Lord Bentinck's administration to require the law courts proceedings to be recorded in the vernacular language of the several districts instead of uniformly in Persian in all districts. Several of this party were now in the Council of Education when I retook my place therein after my return from Tasmania, and I found there a contest to be raging whether in the Calcutta Madrassa and other institutions maintained by Government, English should be preferentially taught and the study of that language made obligatory on all or as hitherto be left optional under the inducement of the benefit in after life which the knowledge of it would confer. I took part of course against the innovations which this party wanted to introduce and I carried with me the vote of the majority of the Council of Education. But when T. B. Macaulay arrived to be the new legislative member of the Council of India, his high literary reputation induced the Government to appoint him President of the Council of Education, and the English Party, as it was called, entertained high hope that his influence and authority would turn the scale against me and my supporters."[1]

The equal division of parties in the General Committee of Public Instruction made it impossible to carry on the work of the Committee. There were "recurring and inconvenient" discussions at meetings, and almost every topic that came up for discussion got mixed up with these fundamental differences. Sometimes no decision could be reached. Very often a decision in favour of one party would be reached if any members of the opposite side accidentally happened to be absent; and more often than not, the decision would be reversed at another meeting when the former party would happen to be in a minority. Evidently, such a state of

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 132-3.

affairs could not go on for long and early in 1835, both the parties in the Committee decided to submit their dispute to the Governor-General-in-Council for orders.

At this distance of time, it is quite unnecessary to enter into all the details of the controversy which spread over several years. It would suffice for the purpose of this narrative to state the view of the Oriental party which was led by H. T. Prinsep and then to present the other side by an analysis of Macaulay's Minute on the subject.

2. **The Orientalist view.** The most important argument of the Oriental party centered round the interpretation of the forty-third section of the Charter Act of 1813. As has been already mentioned, this section directed that a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees shall be expended every year for "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." With regard to the first two objects mentioned in this section, the Oriental party argued as under:—

> "The literature meant to be so revived and encouraged was the literature of the two great classes of population, the Moosulmans and the Hindus.... The revival of literature has been promoted by the assistance given to seminaries of education previously existing, and by the establishment of fresh, and likewise through the printing and publishing of classical works hitherto only to be procured in manuscript. To these objects a certain proportion of the funds assigned has been made applicable. The encouragement of learned men, the next thing indicated, has been effected as well through the support afforded them in institutions of education and in the superintendence and preparation of works for publication as by other advantages incident to the system pursued, amongst which not the least effectual is the provision for securing prolonged study

by stipends to promising students. All this has been done for the natives and their literature."[1]

As regards the third object, i.e. the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences, it was argued that Indians had a prejudice against European knowledge and science and that they would not accept it at all unless it was presented to them through a classical language which they respected and along with the culture of their ancestors to which they were passionately attached. As H. T. Prinsep wrote:—

"It is declared by those who take the opposite view to Mr. Macaulay that it (i.e. the prejudice against European knowledge) does exist and that the prejudice is so general especially amongst the Moosulmans that there is no hope of our being able by the mere offer of instruction in English and English science to secure that it shall be received for its own sake. These persons say that the best chance of procuring that true knowledge shall ultimately prevail, is to *engraft* it upon the course of education now most esteemed and to take every means of leading the youth to the improved condition in which it is desired to place them by giving them first all they respect and admire in their fathers and then besides the further instruction we have to impart."[2]

It was, therefore, suggested that the action of the Committee in translating useful books from English into Arabic and Sanskrit was perfectly justified. The Oriental party, therefore, maintained that their actions were entirely within the Charter Act of 1813, and that their policy could not be changed unless the Charter Act was amended by Parliament itself.

Secondly, the Oriental party were extremely keen on preserving the existing institutions of Oriental learning which the English party proposed to abolish. This was the real question at issue. The Oriental party

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 135-6.
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 125-6.

knew the weakness of their case and were prepared to accept a compromise by suggesting that Government should leave it to the option of the student to choose whichever education he liked whether classical or English. But they would not agree to the idea of closing Oriental institutions. In their view, such a step was entirely opposed to Government policy of conciliating the people and would even border on intolerance. Prinsep was particularly keen about the Calcutta Madrassah. He argued that the Madrassah was

> "an endowment made by Warren Hastings more than 50 years ago and for the support of which certain funds, *viz.* the *land revenue* of the Maddrus Muhal part of which is included in the Barrackpore park were specifically assigned. At first, the Institution was left to the uncontrolled management of the Moola placed by Mr. Hastings at its head. The *Muhal*, however, was under the Khas management of the Board of Revenue and the varying amount realised from it was placed at the Moolavee's disposal. Subsequently the Muhal was made over at a fixed Jama to the Raja of Nudeea when he was restored to his estates of which this formed a part. Except, therefore, that the direct management of the lands was not in the hands of the Principal and Professors and Fellows of the college this was assuredly as complete an Endowment as any of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge or as the Blue Coat School in London can boast of."[1]

He, therefore, argued that even if it was decided to close the existing Oriental institutions, there were

> "many considerations which should protect the Madrusa at least from any present demolition. It is the only link through which the Government has at present any connection whatsoever with the instruction of the Mooslim youth of Bengal. It is not one of the passing institutions of recent establishment for the support of which funds are assigned from the Parliamentary lac of rupees but is an old established college endowed separately, and efficiently performing the purposes of the endowment."[2]

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, p. 119.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

The other arguments advanced by the Oriental party do not amount to much. It was argued, for instance, that Indians could never master the English language, that an imposition of the English language upon the people would provoke their resentment, and so on. These arguments were not likely to convince the Government of that time. Indians were giving increasing evidence of their ability to master the English language, and a Governor-General like Bentinck, who abolished the cruel custom of *Sati*, would not have been daunted by fear of public resentment from carrying out what he thought to be in the interest of the people.

3. **Macaulay's Minute.** Let us now turn to the other side of the shield and see how the case of the English party was argued by Macaulay. He took no part in the controversy at the meetings of the General Committee of Public Instruction because he knew that the matter would again come before him as a member of the Executive Council. So when the papers dealing with the dispute were placed before the Council, he wrote his famous Minute regarding the new educational policy. It is dated 2nd February 1835 and is a document of great historical importance.

The first question that Macaulay took up for discussion in his Minute referred to the interpretation of Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813. Macaulay argued that the word "literature" occurring in this section could be interpreted to mean English literature, that the epithet of a "learned native of India" could also be applied to a person versed in the philosophy of Locke or the poetry of Milton, and that the object of promoting a knowledge of sciences could only be accomplished by the adoption of English as the medium of instruction. If this interpretation were not accepted, Macaulay was

willing to propose an Act rescinding Section 43 of the Charter. Obviously, Macaulay is treading on slippery ground here. His interpretation is certainly far-fetched, if not actually inaccurate.

Macaulay also differed from the Oriental party regarding the continuance of the institutions of Oriental learning. He held the view that these should be closed as they did not serve any useful purpose. He said:—

> "The admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanskrit would be downright spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanitarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanitarium there if the result should not answer our expectations? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works, if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless?"

Macaulay then proceeds to examine the problem of the medium of instruction on grounds of expediency or desirability. Obviously, Government could have selected any one of three languages: the mother-tongue of the people, an oriental classical language, or English. It is extremely unfortunate, however, that the claims of the mother-tongue were brushed aside by both the parties. For instance, Macaulay observed:—

> "All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some

other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them."

This condemnation of the spoken languages of the people naturally left the choice of a medium of instruction between Sanskrit and Arabic on the one hand and English on the other. Macaulay admittedly did not know either Arabic or Sanskrit but he gave it as the considered opinion of "Orientalists" that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". And regarding the utility and importance of English, he wrote:—

"The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us,—with models of every species of eloquence,—with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled,—with just and lively representations of human life and human nature,—with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade,—with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together.... In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East."

The peroration that follows this eulogy of English is characteristic of Macaulay. With an assuredness that is only equalled by his ignorance and in a style that is remarkable for its force, he asks:—

"The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Referring to the question of the alleged prejudices of the Indian people against English education, Macaulay argued that it was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their *health*, and not what was palatable to their *taste*. Even assuming that the taste of the people should be consulted, Macaulay argued that Indians had given sufficient evidence of their love for English. He said:—

"This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanskrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us. All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any impartial person, outweigh this undisputed fact, that we cannot find in all our vast empire a single student who will let us teach him those dialects, unless we will pay him....

The Committee have thought fit to lay out above a lac of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanskrit books. Those books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is

disposed of. Twenty-three thousand volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries or rather the lumber-rooms of this body. The Committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, one should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanskrit books during those three years has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the meantime, the School Book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year and not only pays the expenses of printing but realizes a profit of twenty per cent on its outlay."

Regarding the argument that the Sanskrit and Arabic languages should be studied as the languages of the law and religion of the people, Macaulay pointed out that the best course for Government would be to codify Hindu and Muslim laws in English and observed:—

"It is said that the Sanskrit and the Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature, admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved.... We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting the natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably or decently bribe men, out of the revenues of the State, to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass or what texts of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?"

4. **Lord William Bentinck accepts the Minute.** Such were the main arguments that Macaulay advanced in support of his view. The subsequent history of this Minute is rather interesting and may best be told by a quotation from Prinsep's diary:—

"This Minute, T. B. Macaulay gave to Lord W. Bentinck at Barrackpore, the Governor-General's country house. Lord William sent it down to me (the Educational being one of my Secretariat Departments) with a short note written at the foot adopting it and desiring it to be put up in train to be brought before Council. I accordingly circulated it in a box in the usual form. The box was returned to me without a note or memorandum of any kind from any of the members. I accordingly considered it my duty to prepare and circulate a memorandum explaining the nature of the institutions proposed to be abolished, and giving reasons why they should hesitate to adopt the extreme views propounded by Mr. Macaulay. This memorandum I sent up to the Governor-General and it was afterwards circulated to the Members of the Council from whom it elicited separate short minutes of their opinions. These discussions of course were confidential, and were by me communicated to nobody. But somehow the report got wind that the Government was about to abolish the Madrassa and Sanskrit Colleges. The mind of the public of Calcutta was immediately in a ferment. In three days a petition was got up signed by no less than 30,000 people in behalf of the Madrassa and another by the Hindus for the Sanskrit College. T. B. Macaulay took it into his head that this agitation was excited and even got up by me. He sent for the Head of the Madrassa who of course was the recognized promoter of the Muhammedan petition, and questioned him upon the subject, using for interpreter John Colvin, a junior civil servant, who was in the Council of Education and of the party opposed to me. He particularly asked him whether he had obtained from me or from my office the knowledge of its being the intention of Government to do anything with the Madrassa. The Hafiz (as the head teacher of the Madrassa was called) answered decidedly in the negative. After this examination he came to me to tell me what had passed: upon hearing it I asked from

whom he had got the information, when he told me that it was from John Colvin himself who had acted as interpreter, for he had been at Barrackpore when T. B. Macaulay presented his Minute to Lord W. Bentinck, and there learning that it was adopted by the Governor-General had come back elate at the triumph of his party, and could not help boasting of it to the people of the College.

When the subject came under consideration in Council, there was a very hot argument between myself and Mr. Macaulay. The issue was the resolution that was published not abolishing existing colleges, but requiring them to teach English as well as native literature and making the former obligatory, also giving some encouragement to vernacular studies, but declaring that all Government pecuniary aid in future should be given exclusively to promote the study of European science through the medium of the English language. Lord W. Bentinck would not even allow my memorandum to be placed on record. He said it was quite an abuse that Secretaries should take upon themselves to write memorandums ; that it was quite enough for the Court of Directors to see what the Members of the Council chose to place on record ; that what the Secretaries wrote was nothing unless adopted by the Government."[1]

5. **Resolution of 7th March 1835.** Thus was the celebrated controversy set at rest for the time being and Government published the following resolution on the subject on 7th March 1835 :—

"The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

First. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India ; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

Second. But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any College or school of native learning,

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 133-4.

while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

Third. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth. His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose."[1]

6. **The importance of this controversy** is very often exaggerated. We feel that the question under dispute was not one of great importance at all and that, as a matter of fact, both the parties were in the wrong. The correct solution of the problem would have been to adopt the *Indian languages* as the media of instruction. It was a mistake to brush them aside summarily as being "rude and poor" and incapable of expressing scientific or literary ideas. If the classical party was wrong in

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. I, pp. 130-31.

fighting for the retention of Sanskrit or Arabic as media of instruction, Macaulay was equally wrong in suggesting the adoption of a foreign language like English as the medium of instruction. In our opinion, a controversy of far greater importance is the one that took place in Bombay where the conflict lay between Indian languages on the one hand and English on the other.

7. **Macaulay's Contribution to Indian Education.** The role of Macaulay himself is variously described. Some regard him as a "torch-bearer in the path of progress"; another section, which attributes the present discontent and political unrest in India to the spread of English education, blames Macaulay as the cause of all trouble. Some dislike him for his ignorant and violent condemnation of Indian languages, culture and religion; while others blame him for being responsible for the neglect of Indian languages that inevitably followed upon the use of English as the medium of instruction.

A closer examination will, however, show that these opinions are both incorrect and unfair. To call Macaulay a "torch-bearer in the path of progress" gives an exaggerated account of the role that he actually played. It must be remembered that Macaulay did not *create* the desire for English education—that desire was already there and it had its origin in the material advantages which were then inseparably connected with a knowledge of English. He was not even the organiser of the English party, because it was already in existence when he arrived in India. In fact, when Macaulay came to India in 1834, the battle between the old and the new was already in full swing. The people desired English education and being unable to get it from the Company, quenched their thirst in the missionary schools. The younger generation of civilians, led by its zeal for reform,

was eager to introduce English education. But the rising tide of both these forces was held in check by the older politicians in service who believed that the policy of Hastings and Minto was good for all time and who, no doubt, were supported by the conservative and reactionary forces among the Indians themselves. It was at this time that Macaulay came upon the scene to burst open the locks of conservatism with the power of his rhetoric, and let in the flood of new ideas. He was only responsible for the quick decision of a controversy that would otherwise have dragged on for years but which, nevertheless, could never have been decided in favour of classical languages.

One need not, however, object to the generosity of Macaulay's admirers which makes them place him much higher in public estimation than he really deserves. But it is certainly to be regretted that he is condemned unfairly for things for which he was really not responsible. Perhaps, the only aspect of Macaulay's Minute which can be justly blamed is its condemnation of Oriental literature and religion. But now that a hundred years have elapsed since those words were written, we cannot do better than ignore this part of his writings. After all, his *motives* were not dishonourable and it is always good to forget and forgive. The other criticisms on Macaulay are, however, unjustifiable. For instance, to blame Macaulay for the neglect of Indian languages is not altogether fair. Macaulay was aware of the importance of the adoption of Indian languages as media of instruction. But he was apparently advised by local persons on both sides of the controversy that this was impossible, and he can hardly be blamed for taking them at their word. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the report for 1836 of the General

Committee of Public Instruction, of which Macaulay was the President, emphasizes the importance of the study of modern Indian languages. It says:—

> "We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction.... We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed."[1]

It was no fault of Macaulay if subsequent administrators lost sight of this view to which he was a party. The study of Indian languages was also emphasized in several important State documents following Macaulay's Minute, and yet, the educational administrators continued to neglect it. It would, therefore, be quite unfair to hold Macaulay alone responsible for all the sins of commission and omission of nearly a hundred years of educational administration.

But perhaps the least charitable are those who condemn him as the cause of all the modern political discontent. In the first place, it is a doubtful issue whether the political agitation of today could not have originated in the absence of English education. But even if it is the result of such education, this is a matter of which England might well be proud. It is interesting to note that Macaulay himself had visualized some such result. Speaking in the House of Commons on the Charter Act of 1833, he had already observed:—

> "I have no fears. The path of duty is before us: and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay

[1] Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 22-3.

are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."[1]

8. **Auckland's Minute.** It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the controversy came to an end with the resolution of Bentinck's Government quoted above. It lingered on for about five years and was finally closed in a Minute, dated 24th November 1839, by Lord Auckland who was then the Governor-General of India. This Minute is an important document of the history of Indian education. It deals with several topics among which may be mentioned the Anglicist-Classicist controversy, the recommendations of Adam regarding the improvement of indigenous education, and the problem of the medium of instruction in secondary schools.

9. **The End of the Anglicist-Classicist Controversy in Bengal (1839).** By this time, much of the heat of the

[1] *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* by Dadabhai Naoroji, p. 93.

conflict had cooled down. Macaulay had left India. The Oriental party had come to realise the futility of resisting the spread of English and had accordingly moderated their demands. They now pleaded only for the continuance of the existing institutions of Oriental learning and for some funds for publication of valuable Oriental books. The ground was, therefore, quite ready for a compromise. When Lord Auckland succeeded Lord William Bentinck, the controversy seems to have been reopened in some form or other, perhaps with considerable bitterness on both sides. But Lord Auckland shrewdly guessed the real cause of the conflict and put an end to the controversy. One cannot do better than to allow Lord Auckland himself to explain his diagnosis of the trouble :—

> "I may observe that it may in my opinion be clearly admitted, and I am glad from the papers before me to see that this opinion is supported by the authority of Mr. Prinsep, that the insufficiency of the funds assigned by the state for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all. In the Bengal Presidency, with its immense territory and a revenue of about 13 millions, the yearly expenditure of the Government on this account is little in excess of £24,000 or 2,40,000 rupees, and I need not say how in a country like India, it is to the Government that the population must mainly look for facilities in the acquisition of improved learning..... The sum immediately at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly, the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable, and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas

which began to prevail. The inference to which I would point from these facts and observations is that a principle of wise liberality, not stinting any object which can reasonably be recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence, and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which has been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings."[1]

The obvious remedy was to assign additional funds so as to satisfy both the parties and that was precisely the step taken by Lord Auckland. He passed the following orders:

(*a*) He guaranteed the continuation of the existing institutions of Oriental learning and the payment of adequate grants for entertainment of "the most eminent professors" and adequate scholarships to students.

(*b*) He encouraged the preparation and publication of useful books of instruction in Oriental languages provided that the expenditure was kept within limits of the funds sanctioned for Oriental education.

(*c*) He also directed that the first duty of the Oriental Colleges was to impart instruction in Oriental learning and that they *may* conduct English classes, if necessary, *after* that duty had been properly discharged.

As may be easily imagined, these orders fully satisfied the Oriental party. The entire additional cost of the above proposals was about Rs. 31,000 per year and Lord Auckland could proudly report that the Court of Directors would "approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense".

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. I, pp. 148-9.

On the other hand, Lord Auckland was also able to satisfy the demands of the Anglicist party. In the first place, he assigned a sum of more than a lakh of rupees for the spread of English education. Secondly, he reviewed the whole question of Indian education in his Minute and gave the following decisions which, it will be noticed, are entirely in support of the Anglicist view :

(*a*) Only partial and imperfect results could be expected from the attempts to teach European science through the medium of Sanskrit or Arabic.

(*b*) The principal aim of educational policy should be to communicate, through the English language, a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy, and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it.

(*c*) Attempts of Government should be restricted to the extension of higher education to the upper classes of society who have leisure for study and whose culture would filter down to the masses. This was the old, famous Downward Filtration Theory and its approval by Lord Auckland marked its official acceptance by Government. Henceforward this theory became the official policy in education and continued to dominate Government effort in education till about 1870.

On the whole, it may be said that although Lord Auckland saved the Classicists from complete annihilation—'twas all they wanted—he gave a far greater impetus to the spread of English education.

10. **Auckland on Medium of Instruction.** It appears from Auckland's Minute that even in these early days

when hardly five years had elapsed since Macaulay wrote of the poverty of modern Indian languages, a suggestion was already being put forward from several quarters that these languages should be used as the media of instruction, at least in the secondary schools. It was pointed out that their limited syllabus could easily be taught through the Indian languages especially if good class books were prepared and arrangements made to train the teachers properly. It was also argued that such a measure would give encouragement to literature in Indian languages, and it was pointed out that Bombay was actually using the Indian languages as media of instruction in most of its schools of this type. But perhaps the most interesting is the argument given below :—

> "It is an argument for the use of the vernacular medium in such schools that after the first expense of preparing school books has been incurred, instruction in that manner would, it may be expected, be more economical than through English, which requires the employment of an English master on a salary at least two or three times as high as would be adequate for a native teacher who had received an English education and was at the same time perfectly conversant with his own tongue. Employment as a schoolmaster would also be a natural and proper provision for studious young men who had gone through a complete course at the English Colleges. Such a master would, of course, be able to instruct a class attached to a vernacular school in the first elements of English learning, so as to lay a foundation for those who wished further to prosecute that study."[1]

In spite of these weighty considerations to the contrary, it is to be regretted that Lord Auckland did not accept this wholesome suggestion. English was already used as the medium of instruction in such Zilla schools as were then in existence, and he did not think

[1] *Auckland's Minute*, para 22.

that there were sufficient reasons to warrant a change in the existing system. He also pleaded for time to watch the Bombay experiment of teaching through the mother-tongue. To quote his own words on this issue:

"I have thus stated what has seemed most important on the subject of introducing the vernacular medium in our common District schools; I mean, as to the general principle of such a change, for the measure could not be named as one for very early adoption, with no class books prepared or teachers versed in those books yet trained for their duties. And as the contrary system has been actually established, it is right that, unless urgent reasons for abandoning that system demanded attention, it should be fully tried, with the improvements of which it may fairly be susceptible. We may, indeed, be said to have two great experiments in progress, one in Bengal, the other in the Bombay Provinces, the Provincial education being in the former conducted chiefly through the English, in the latter almost, if not quite exclusively, through the vernacular languages. It will be most interesting that both experiments should be closely watched and thoroughly developed. It is possible that in Bengal, in aiming at too much, we may have withheld some facilities for acquiring knowledge which might otherwise have advantageously been left open. And in Bombay the standard of proficiency in the Mofussil schools may have been fixed and allowed to remain too low, with no principle in the scheme by which they are regulated which would constantly animate exertion, and maintain a spirit of progressive improvement.

The immediate practical question in respect to Bengal seems to be that which I have before mentioned—namely, whether it may be reasonably supposed that vernacular would be more readily and largely accepted in our District schools than an English education, and on this subject I am not able, after much careful reflection, to discover any reasons which could lead me to answer the proposition in the affirmative. Native youths will not come to our schools to be instructed in vernacular composition. This qualification is more quickly and easily to be attained from other sources. We can in those schools draw little, if any, aid from existing native literature. The desire for the new ideas and information which will be

imparted to them must, therefore, be among the great inducements to attendance, and those who are candidates for such instruction will not, I think, in any important degree be deterred by having to undergo also the labour of learning the English character and language. The fact indeed is, as it is to be presumed from the evidence which has been recorded on the subject, that a knowledge of the English language itself with a view to the business, however humble, of life, is one main object of most of the scholars. It is fortunate that in the pursuit of such an object, they can be led on to higher studies and ends. For mere instruction of a general nature (such as our masters now give) through the *vernacular* medium, it may, it seems to me, well be doubted whether even the number of pupils would seek our schools, who now resort to them."[2]

It is interesting to compare the views of Macaulay with those of Lord Auckland given above. Macaulay proceeded on the assumption that the modern Indian languages could not be used as media of instruction, and that he had to weigh the relative claims of English and the classical languages. His premises were wrong, but his conclusions were right. We can hardly say that of Lord Auckland. He had to choose between the mother-tongue and a foreign language; he had some proof before him that good higher education could be imparted through a modern Indian language. And yet he shirked facing the issue, and allowed English to continue as the medium of instruction at the secondary stage on the flimsy excuse that the *status quo* should not be disturbed unless there were weighty reasons to the contrary. The more logical course would have been to argue that English could not, except for very strong reasons, be adopted as the medium of instruction in preference to the mother-tongue of the pupils. But Lord Auckland took a hesitant or conservative attitude which gave a wrong lead to secondary education. The

[1] *Auckland's Minute,* paras 26-7.

decision is all the more to be regretted because, owing to the centralization introduced by the Charter Act of 1833, the views of a Governor-General could now influence greatly the other presidencies also. In fact, as we shall see in the next chapter, they did have considerable influence on the course of education in Madras and Bombay as well.

11. **Adam's Recommendations.** Equally unhappy were the orders of Lord Auckland on the recommendations of Adam regarding the improvement and extension of indigenous elementary schools. We have already seen in Chapter II, how Adam came to be appointed by Lord William Bentinck to investigate into the system of indigenous education and what the results of his investigations were. Adam had also been instructed to make recommendations regarding "the possibility and means of raising the character and enlarging the usefulness of any single institution or of a whole class." Accordingly he made his proposals in the second part of his third report which may be summarised as under:—

(a) *Adam had no faith in the Downward Filtration Theory* and recommended that it should be abandoned. He wrote:

"Instead of beginning with schools for the lower grades of native society, a system of Government institutions may be advocated that shall provide, in the first place, for the higher classes on the principle that the tendency of knowledge is to descend, not to ascend; and that, with this view, we should at present seek to establish a school at the head-station of every zilla, afterwards pergunnah schools, and last of all village schools, gradually acquiring in the process more numerous and better qualified instruments for the diffusion of education. The primary objection to this plan is that it overlooks entire systems of native educational institutions, Hindu and Mohammadan, which existed long before our rule, and which

continue to exist under our rule, independent of us and of our projects, forming and moulding the native character in successive generations. In the face of this palpable fact, the plan assumes that the country is to be indebted to us for schools, teachers, books—everything necessary to its moral and intellectual improvement, and that in the prosecution of our views we are to reject all the aids which the ancient institutions of the country and the actual attainments of the people afford towards their advancement. We have to deal in this country principally with Hindus and Mohammadans, the former one of the earliest civilized nations of the earth, the latter in some of the brightest periods of their history distinguished promoters of science; and both, even in their present retrogade stages of civilization, still preserving a profound love and veneration for learning nourished by those very institutions of which I have spoken, and which it would be equally improvident on our part and offensive to them to neglect.

Again, if the maxim that the tendency of knowledge is to descend, not to ascend, requires us to have first zilla, next pergunnah, and then village schools, it follows that we ought not to have even zilla schools till we have provincial colleges, nor the latter till we have national universities; nor these till we have a cosmopolitan one. But this is an application of the maxim foreign to its spirit. Improvement begins with the individual and extends to the mass, and the individuals who give the stimulus to the mass are doubtless generally found in the upper, that is, the thinking class of society which, especially in this country, is not composed exclusively nor even principally, of those who are highest in rank, or who possess the greatest wealth. The truth of the maxim does not require that the measures adopted should have reference first to large and then to small localities in progressive descent. On the contrary the efficiency of every successive higher grade of institution cannot be secured except by drawing instructed pupils from the next lower grade which, consequently by the necessity of the case, demands prior attention. Children should not go to colleges to learn the alphabet. To make the superstructure lofty and firm, the foundations should be broad and deep; and thus building from the foundation, all classes of

institutions and every grade of instruction may be combined with harmonious and salutary effect."[1]

(b) Secondly, Adam was fully convinced of the utility of developing indigenous institutions. He observed:

"To whatever extent such institutions may exist, and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing, or retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations; we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure; but these are the foundations on which the building should be raised. All men, particularly uninstructed and half-instructed men, attach the same importance to forms as to substance, and as forms are merely conventional, it is desirable in the work of reform to disembarrass ourselves of opposition founded on the overthrow of ancient forms, and to enlist on our side the prepossessions in favour of their continued use. Besides, there is a probability that those forms, if not at the period of their original adoption, yet by long continued usage are suited to the manners, habits, and general character of the people whom we desire to benefit, and that any other forms which we might seek to establish would in reality be less fitted to supply their place. All schemes for the improvement of education, therefore, to be efficient and permanent, should be based upon the existing institutions of the country, transmitted from time immemorial, familiar to the conceptions of the people and inspiring them with respect and veneration. To labour successfully *for* them, we must labour *with* them; and to labour successfully *with them*, we must get them to labour willingly and intelligently *with* us. We must make them, in short, the instruments of their own improvement; and how can this be done but by identifying ourselves and our improvements with them and their institutions?"[2]

Adam, therefore, recommended that—

"*existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest, of all kinds and classes, were the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people, that to employ those institutions for such a purpose would be 'the*

[1] *Adam's Reports*, Calcutta Edition, pp. 357-8.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. lviii-ix.

simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical, and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing...."[1]

With these general observations Adam described the proposed working of his plan for the improvement of indigenous schools in the following seven stages:—

(*a*) The first step was to select one or more districts in which the plan could be tried as an experiment.

(*b*) The second step was to hold a thorough educational survey of the district or districts selected more or less on the same lines on which Adam had conducted his investigations.

(*c*) The third step was to prepare a set of books in modern Indian languages for the use of teachers and pupils.

(*d*) The fourth step was to appoint an Examiner for each district as the chief executive officer of the plan. His duties would be to survey his area, to meet teachers, to explain the books, to conduct examinations, to grant rewards, and generally to be responsible for carrying out the plan successfully.

(*e*) The fifth step was to distribute the books to teachers and stimulate them to study them by the holding of examinations and the granting of rewards to those who passed the tests. Adam also recommended the establishment of Normal schools where teachers of indigenous schools could be encouraged to study from one to three months a year for about four years so that their

[1] *Adam's Reports,* Calcutta Edition, 349-50.

qualifications could be improved without inconveniencing their pupils.

(*f*) The sixth step was to encourage the teachers to impart the newly acquired knowledge to their pupils by holding examinations for them and by granting rewards.

(*g*) The seventh step was to grant endowments of lands to village schools in order to encourage teachers to settle down in villages and to educate the rural children. Adam pointed out several sources from which such gifts of land could be made or secured by Government.

12. **Rejection of Adam's Recommendations.** This, in brief, was the outline of Adam's plan for the improvement of indigenous elementary schools. It was obvious that Adam was fundamentally right, although the details of the plan would have required considerable modifications later on. Had his recommendations been adopted, the history of mass education in India would have been entirely different. But that was not to be. Macaulay, who had not, for some mysterious reasons, signed the Minute appointing Adam for the investigations, now showed his hostility to Adam's proposals. He wrote :—

"I have read with much interest Mr. Shakespeare's Minute on Mr. Adam's valuable Report. I am a little inclined to doubt, however, whether we are at present ripe for any extensive practical measures which he recommends.

I do not see how we can either make the present teachers of elementary knowledge more competent, or supply their place as yet with fitter men. The evil is one which time only can remedy. Our work is to educate the schoolmasters for the next generation.

If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalees, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers. As to educating the school-

masters who are already established, I quite agree with Mr. Shakespeare in thinking that plan chimerical. As to sending others, at present we cannot do it if we would. I doubt whether we have the men, and I am sure that we have not the money."[1]

With such adverse comments the papers came up before Lord Auckland. A reference to his views on educational policy given earlier will show that Adam's ideas could never have appealed to him. His actual observations on the subject are given below:—

"The other reference made to me is with regard to Mr. Adam's plan for the improvement of indigenous schools and teachers. I would observe upon it that it is impossible to read his valuable and intelligent report, without being painfully impressed with the low state of instruction as it exists amongst the immense masses of the Indian population. Attempts to correct so lamentable an evil may well be eagerly embraced by benevolent minds. Yet I cannot but feel with the President in Council that the period has not yet arrived when the Government can join in these attempts with reasonable hope of practical good. When Mr. Adam enforces his views 'for the instruction of the poor and ignorant' those who are too ignorant to understand the evils of ignorance and too poor, even if they did, to be able to remove them, the inference irresistibly presents itself that among these is not the field in which our efforts can at present be most successfully employed. The small stock of knowledge which can now be given in elementary schools will of itself do little for the advancement of a people. The first step must be to diffuse wider information and better sentiments amongst the upper and middle classes, for it seems, as may be gathered from the best authorities on the subject, that a scheme of general instruction can only be perfect, as it comprehends a regularly progressive provision for higher tuition. In the European States where such systems have been recently extensively matured, this principle is, I believe, universally observed. There is a complete series of Universities in great towns, of Academies in Provincial divisions and of small local schools, all connected in a combined plan of instruction. The extension of the plan to the Parish village school has been the last stage,

[1] *Adam's Reports,* Calcutta Edition, pp. xlix-l.

as must naturally have been the case, in the national progress. Mr. Adam's plan contemplated such a rise of able pupils from the village to the zilla schools, but the suggestion could not immediately have effect. Here we are yet engaged on the formation and efficient direction of our upper institutions. When, indeed, the series of vernacular class of books for single zilla schools, which is still a desideratum, and to which I shall subsequently refer, shall have been published, and their utility shall have been established by practice, Mr. Adam's recommendations may be taken up with some fairer prospect of advantage. For the present I would confine our measures in reference to his reports to injunctions on the General Committee that they bear in mind his particular suggestions and objects in determining on the series of class books referred to. I would submit the plan to the Hon'ble Court for the expression of their sentiments and wishes, and in the collection of information for an eventual decision I would make use of the experience which the Bombay measures of village instruction will have afforded. For this purpose, I would communicate Mr. Adam's report to the Government of Bombay, and ask how far the scheme which he describes is in accordance with that which is pursued in the provinces of that presidency, and what opinion may be formed from the result already obtained by their village schools, of the propriety of carrying out Mr. Adam's plan in their important parts. The encouragement to existing schoolmasters, which is the leading suggestion in Mr. Adam's plan, will probably have been largely tried at Bombay, and the extent to which those schoolmasters have reaped improvement under such encouragement will be a most interesting subject of enquiry. I learn also in the course of my enquiries regarding the previous progress of education in India, that a School Society existed for some time in Calcutta, the operations of which were directed with partial success to the amendment of indigenous schools. Mr. Hare will probably be able to explain the history of this society, which drew a grant of 400 or 500 rupees a month from Government, and to give also the causes of its extinction. I would ask this gentleman to favour Government with a report regarding that society,—and I would conclude upon this subject by recording my opinion that when such a scheme as that proposed by Mr. Adam comes to be tried, the arrange-

ments for introducing it should be on a liberal and effective scale, and that it ought not to be undertaken at all, until the Government is satisfied that it has at command a thoroughly zealous and qualified superintendence."[1]

Thus were Adam's recommendations side-tracked and, as we shall see later, it was only in 1845 that a plan similar to his was introduced in the North-Western Province by Thomason.

13. **Events in Bengal 1840-53**. We shall close this chapter with a narrative of events in Bengal up to 1854. The General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced, in 1842, by a Council of Education. In 1844, Government announced its policy of giving every encouragement to educated Indians by employing them in Government service. The following quotation from the resolution of Lord Hardinge on the subject will be found interesting :—

"The Governor-General having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

With a view still further to promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people, the Governor-General is also pleased to direct that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under

[1] *Adam's Reports,* Calcutta Edition, pp. li-iii.

the Government, respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot."

In 1845, the Council of Education made a proposal for the establishment of a University at Calcutta but the Court of Directors rejected it on the ground that it was premature.

By 1854, the Council of Education conducted 151 educational institutions with 13,163 scholars and incurred a total expenditure of Rs. 5,94,428 a year. But the following extract from Wood's Education Despatch regarding education in Bengal in 1853 will clearly show the effects of the policy based on an exaggerated emphasis on English education :—

"In Bengal, education through the medium of the English language has arrived at a higher point than in any other part of India. We are glad to receive constant evidence of an increasing demand for such an education, and of the readiness of the natives of different districts to exert themselves for the sake of obtaining it. There are now five Government anglo-vernacular colleges; and zillah schools have been established in nearly every district. We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grant-in-aid will very largely increase the number of schools of superior order....

"Very little has, however, been hitherto done in Bengal for the education of the mass of the people, especially for their instruction through the medium of the vernacular languages. A few vernacular schools were founded by Government in 1844, of which only 33 now remain, with 1,400 pupils, and upon their transfer, in April, 1852, from the charge of the Board of Revenue to that of the Council of Education, it appeared that 'they were in a languishing state and had not fulfilled the expectations formed on their establishment'."

CHAPTER VI

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN OTHER PROVINCES

(1833-1853)

IN the last chapter we traced the development of education in the Province of Bengal between the years 1833 and 1853. In this chapter we shall trace the educational developments in the other provinces of India during the same period.

2. **Developments in Bombay.** The early history of education in Bombay is of very great importance because it is in marked contrast to that in Bengal. Unfortunately, it has not received the attention it deserves because of the tendency of most historians of Indian education to consider the developments in Bengal as *the* history of Indian education. While we do not deny the paramount importance that attaches to the developments in Bengal as the seat of the Government of India, we feel that the developments in other provinces, especially in Bombay, deserve a careful study at the hands of educationists and will help in correcting some of the erroneous impressions that are likely to be formed by a study of the developments in Bengal alone.

3. **The Bombay Native Education Society.** As we saw in Chapter IV, the Bombay Native Education Society was accepted by Government as the official agency for the spread of education among the Indian people ever since its inception in 1822. The Society continued to do useful work till 1840 when it was abolished. The following short account of the institutions

conducted by the Society in 1840 will give an idea of the main features of its educational policy.

(*a*) *District English Schools.* The Society conducted four English Schools at Bombay, Thana, Panvel and Poona. All these Schools were under the management of European headmasters.

(*b*) *District Primary Schools.* The Society attached much greater importance to the conduct of primary schools in the mofussil. It may be noted here that in those days, the expression "primary education" meant "the spread of Western Science and knowledge through the mother-tongue" and hence the "primary" schools of the Society were far different from the primary schools of today. For instance, the syllabus of a primary school included the study of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidean Geometry and Trigonometry. The number of classes varied from six to ten. These schools, therefore, may more appropriately be described as Secondary schools teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue rather than as primary schools in the modern sense of the term.

It was on the development of such schools that the Bombay Native Education Society concentrated its attention between 1822 and 1840. The progress was slow because the funds at the disposal of the Society were limited and the teachers for the schools had to be specially trained. But it persisted in its efforts and in 1840 as many as 115 primary schools of this type were conducted by the Society.

With regard to the question of the medium of instruction, the Society's view was that the study of English was "of secondary importance in effecting the mental and moral improvement" of the Indian people.

Although it conducted a few English Schools in order to "render those few scholars, who evince an inclination and have leisure to continue their studies in English language, capable of understanding all kinds of works on literature and Science," it was of opinion that Western knowledge could never be spread to the people through the medium of the English language alone. In its report for 1825-26, it stated its policy in the following words :—

> "These ideas (i.e., the new ideas in Western literature and science) will be most easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother-tongue of each scholar. It will, therefore, no doubt be admitted that the time and labour both of the master and the scholar would be materially saved, were these indispensable explanations previously embodied in works written in the native languages; and thus it again appears that English can never become the most facile and successful medium of communicating to the natives, as a body, the literature, science and morality of Europe."

4. **Institutions conducted by Government.** Besides the institutions mentioned above which were managed by the Bombay Native Education Society, Government itself conducted two colleges—at Poona and Bombay—and 63 primary schools in the Purandar Taluka of the Poona District. The older of the two colleges was the Poona Sanskrit College, an account of whose establishment is given in Chapter IV. This college was remodelled in 1837 by the addition of a Marathi section and by throwing it open to the students of all classes instead of restricting the admissions to Brahmins only as had been the custom in the past. The other college was the Elphinstone Institution at Bombay. When Elphinstone retired in 1827, the people of Bombay subscribed a fund of two lakhs in order to commemorate his services to the Province. The Court of Directors contributed an equal amount and the Elphinstone Institution was

organized in Bombay in 1834. Through it, the Directors hoped to raise "a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employment in the Civil administration of India"; and the Indian community who had subscribed for it hoped that it would lead to a study and enrichment of the languages of the people. The college used as feeder the Central English School conducted by the Native Education Society.

The history of the Purandar schools is rather interesting. They were established in 1837 in the Purandar Taluka of the Poona District on the suggestion of Captain Shortrede who was then the Assistant Collector of that part. Captain Shortrede's idea was to provide elementary instruction to the masses in reading, writing, and arithmetic and hence he modelled the syllabus of these schools on the lines of that of the indigenous schools. The teachers were recruited locally and were not required to undergo any such intensive training as was prescribed for the teachers of the primary schools conducted by the Native Education Society. The salaries of teachers varied from Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 15 p.m. and averaged Rs. 4-8 only. On the whole, these schools were just like the indigenous schools with this difference that their teachers were Government servants. The schools were under the control of the Revenue Department until 1840.

The above account of the institutions in Bombay will show that Government gave simultaneous encouragement to the study of Sanskrit, English, and Modern Indian Languages. The following passage from a report of Captain Candy explains the principles underlying this policy:—

"It seems to me that too much encouragement cannot be given to the study of English, nor too much value put upon

it, in its proper place and connection, in a plan for the intellectual and moral improvement of India. This place I conceive to be that of supplying *ideas* and *the matter of instruction*, not that of being the medium of instruction. The medium through which the mass of the population must be instructed, I humbly conceive, must be their Vernacular Tongues, and neither English nor Sanskrit. Sanskrit I conceive to be the grand storehouse from which strength and beauty may be drawn for the Vernacular languages, and it is, therefore, highly deserving of cultivation, but it cannot furnish from its stores the matter of instruction, nor can it ever be the medium of instruction to more than a few. In a word, knowledge must be drawn from the stores of the English language, the Vernaculars must be employed as the media of communicating it, and Sanskrit must be largely used to improve the Vernaculars and make them suitable for the purpose. I look on every Native who possesses a good knowledge of his own mother-tongue, of Sanskrit, and of English, to possess the power of rendering incalculable benefit to his countrymen."[1]

5. **The Board of Education.** In April 1840, the Government of Bombay decided to constitute one agency for the management of all the institutions for the education of Indians and established a Board of Education consisting of seven members of whom three were to be nominated by the Society. The Bombay Native Education Society was wound up and the last act of its existence was to nominate three Indians as members of the Board of Education. This Board continued to function till 1855 when the first Director of Public Instruction took over charge.

The Board inherited, not only all the institutions conducted by the Native Education Society, but also the Poona Sanskrit College, the Elphinstone Institution, and the Purandar schools organised by Captain Shortrede. In 1842, it divided the province into three educational Divisions and placed a European Inspector

[1] *Report of the Board of Education*, 1840-41, p. 35.

with an Indian Assistant in charge of each. It prepared regulations for the management of its English and primary schools. It undertook to establish a primary school in a village of not less than 2000 population provided the people gave a school-house, free of rent, and agreed to pay a monthly fee of one anna per pupil. It will be seen, therefore, that the Board continued the policy of the Bombay Native Education Society and the following statistics taken from its report for 1845 show the contrast between the developments in Bengal and Bombay :—

		Bengal.	*Bombay.*
1.	Population ...	3,70,00,000	1,05,00,000
2.	Expenditure on education ...	Rs. 4,77,593	Rs. 1,68,226
3.	Number of pupils reading in Government schools ...	5,570	10,616
4.	Number of pupils reading in English schools ...	3,953	761

6. **Neglect of Indigenous Schools.** One of the earliest references which the Board had to dispose of was the one from Bengal regarding Adam's plan for the encouragement of indigenous education. The Board called for the statistics of indigenous schools and, after some discussion, decided to make no attempts to aid or improve them. The main difficulty lay in the fact that the Board's ideal in Primary Education—i.e. the spread of Western knowledge and science through the Indian languages—was not likely to be realized through the indigenous schools. In the opinion of the Board, instruction in the three R's was no education at all and it is hardly to be wondered if the Board thought these schools to be extremely inefficient. The Board, therefore, decided to spend no part of its limited resources on the encouragement of indigenous schools; and even in the case of

the Purandar schools its policy was far from encouraging. In its report for 1846, it observed:—

> "Under these circumstances, it has appeared to us, that we were wasting our resources by continuing the monthly expenditure of Rupees 350 dedicated to the experiment, and that such amount would be more profitably expended in the support of a few schools, such as we may reasonably hope to make good schools sooner or later. We, therefore, determined on reopening no schools in the districts which have been once closed, and on taking all the opportunities (not infrequent) as they occur, of closing the schools now open."[1]

The decision of the Board was very unfortunate and acted as a damper on indigenous education. For the next thirty years, no effort was made in Bombay for encouraging indigenous schools and an economical method of spreading literacy was lost to the Department almost at its start.

7. **Controversy regarding the Medium of Instruction (1845-49)**. In Chapter IV we have referred to the controversy in Bombay regarding the medium of instruction. Col. Jervis and the three Indian members of the Board formed one group and held that education must be imparted through the mother-tongue of the children while Sir Erskine Perry, the President of the Board, and two European members formed the other group and held that education should be imparted through English. This controversy is, in our opinion, of even greater importance than the controversy between the Anglicists and Classicists that raged in Bengal and, therefore, we propose to examine it at some length.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the case of the Anglicist party led by Sir E. Perry. Its inspiration came evidently from Bengal and it had hardly anything to add to the arguments given in the Minutes

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, p. 148.

of Macaulay or Auckland. But owing to the different situation in Bombay, it emphasized the following three arguments :—

(a) That Indians were themselves eager to study English ;

(b) That the work of translating books of European knowledge and science into the Indian languages would be extremely costly and difficult ; and

(c) That it was politically expedient to encourage the Indians to study English. As this is a new aspect of the problem, one cannot do better than to quote Sir Erskine Perry's own words :—

"There can be no doubt whatever, and Government are perfectly alive to the fact, that the more intimate the communication is between the governors and the governed, the better for both parties. It is only by close inter-communication that complaints become heard and redressed—that the views of the Government for general improvement can be appreciated—that the corruption and extortions of intermediate agency can be checked. It is the clear perception of these views that causes Government to lay so much, and such just stress on their European employees making themselves masters of the native languages. But the same good results are produced, and in a much more effective manner, when the Natives on their part acquire the English language. The English are notoriously bad linguists, the Scotch are worse. They commence their studies of Eastern languages, moreover, at a period of life when the organs of speech are becoming somewhat rigid. But the natives have a wonderful aptitude for language—every one above the rank of a cultivator knows at least two ; and, with respect to English, those who undertake the study of it commence at the most favourable period of life for the acquisition of a foreign tongue. At the present moment, although the knowledge of native languages is indispensable to Europeans in civil employment, and although no marked encouragement for the study of English by natives has been afforded by Government, for one civilian who can write a grammatical letter in idiomatic Maharatti or Gujrathi,

I will undertake to produce fifty natives who can write off-hand a letter in pure English. Without in the least degree desiring to diminish the *onus* on the European services of acquiring the native languages, I do submit that all sound policy dictates a like encouragement to natives, for the purpose of drawing the relations closer between them and the Government."[1]

The other side was very ably put forward by Colonel Jervis and Jagannath Shankarseth. The following extract from a Minute dated 24th February 1847 from Colonel Jervis will show the noble stand that he took on this issue:—

"Surely it must be admitted, that general instruction cannot be afforded, except through the medium of a language with which the mind is familiar; and, therefore, the consistent result of the views above-mentioned, which would constitute English the essential medium for the intellectual improvement of the Natives of India, startling though it must appear to the commonest sense, is to withhold all education from the Native population of this country, until the English language is so familiar to them, that each individual can think and reason in that tongue, to the supersession necessarily of his own dialect: and moreover, strange to say, the idea of making English the sole language of our Indian subjects, has been seriously entertained and propounded. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the chimerical nature, to say the least, of such extreme views; but the conclusion appears incontrovertible, that, in proportion as we confine Education to the channel of the English language, so will the fruits be restricted to a number of scribes and inferior Agents for Public and Private Offices, and a few enlightened individuals,—isolated by their very superiority, from their fellow countrymen.

In our endeavours to make the knowledge of English among the natives so prominent and essential a qualification, we are neglecting the benefit of three hundred years' experience in Europe, and we are retrograding to the days, in which Latin was the sole language of Literature; and when, in consequence, knowledge, both spiritual and temporal, was

[1] *Sir Erskine Perry's Note on Education,* para 25, printed as Appendix to the Report of the Bombay Board of Education, 1849.

confined to a few Monks,—a few Divines—a few Men of Letters. Until such an exclusive agency was put an end to,—until the modern tongues of Europe were emancipated,—the people could never learn, or know for themselves. On the abrogation of the exclusive use of the Latin language on the inauguration of the language of the People, the acquirement of knowledge was made accessible to all. From the Noble, to the Artizan,—all men could be taught,—all men could be teachers,—and how wonderful has been the advancement, in morality and literature, by such a change in Europe. Should we then, here, at this day, so far forget this lesson, and insist so much on imposing the burden of the foreign language of a handful of Rulers on the Millions of our Native population? On the contrary, I conceive it a paramount duty, on our part, to foster the Vernacular dialects, and to use every endeavour to free them from the swaddling bands in which they have been hitherto confined. Aided by their cognate classical dialects (Sanskrit, etc.) they would be capable of a copiousness of expression, now unknown to them, and of indicating the dependence,—the connection, the minute diversity and transition of ideas, and the various steps in the process of logical deductions; and they would attain to a vigorous maturity,—in which the highest powers of language to embody every operation of the mind, from the simplest to the most subtle would be developed.

The popular idioms, which have hitherto been employed only in a few meagre productions of the Chronicler and Minstrel, must be summoned under our auspices, to act a new part, and, consequently to receive a new development. In this way we should endeavour to raise up a new world of Morality and Literature around the whole mass of Native Society, and not contract their advancement solely within the bounds, which the tutelage of our English Government, and the medium of our English language, would impose. The learned Orientalist, Horace Wilson, observes:—'It is not by the English language that we can enlighten the people of India. It can be effected only through the forms of speech which they already understand and use. These must be applied to the purpose, either by direct translations, or which is preferable, by the representation of European facts, opinions, and sentiments, in an original native garb. In the early stages

of improvement, the former mode is the only one that can be expected; hereafter, the latter would take its place, and would give to the people of India a literature of their own, the legitimate progeny of that of England, the living resemblance, though not the servile copy of its Parent.'

The project of importing English literature along with English Cottons into India, and bringing it into universal use, must at once be felt by every reasonable mind as chimerical and ridiculous. If the people are to have a literature, it must be their own. The stuff may be, in a great degree, European, but it must be freely interwoven with homespun materials, and the fashion must be Asiatic."[1]

The following Minute dated 1st May, 1847, was penned by Jagannath Shankarseth and concurred in by the two other Indian members of the Board of Education, Framjee Cowasjee and Mahommad Ibrahim Mackba. It gives an insight into the real object of those who contributed to the Elphinstone Fund and forms an excellent retort to the argument that Indians themselves were eager to study English to the neglect of their mother-tongue.

"I am persuaded that the Vernacular languages possess advantages superior to English, as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the people of Western India. It cannot be denied that they must have less difficulty in understanding whatever is communicated to them in their own language,- than in a foreign tongue. When a native is inclined to prosecute the study of English, his progress is more rapid, and his usefulness doubled, provided he be first well grounded in his own language. I say his usefulness will be increased, because it is only by this preparation that any knowledge he may have acquired can be imparted by him to his countrymen through the medium of the Vernacular languages. It is, in my humble opinion, an impossibility to teach the great mass of the people a language, such as English, so widely different from their own. I must also observe that when the native chiefs and others gave large subscriptions for the

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, pp. 11-13.

establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships they contributed them with an understanding that the Vernacular languages were not to be neglected, but carefully fostered and improved, and brought into use as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the great body of the people. The Vernacular languages have been much neglected by the people in Bombay, and this being the centre from which we expect the beams of knowledge to spread, these languages are pre-eminently entitled to our fostering care. It was to this that the early efforts of Native Education were directed. It was to this end that all Mr. Elphinstone's plans tended. For a time, these efforts were eminently successful, but they have remained in abeyance, and the state in which they now are, though somewhat improved, requires the most strenuous effort for improvement to render them efficient organs for imparting European knowledge to the natives. Our worthy President has observed, that the Board are equally alive with Colonel Jervis to the necessity of the Vernacular languages being the medium of instruction to the masses of the people, to the importance of promoting the growth of Vernacular literature, and to the urgency of providing schools. This is true, nor have I any hesitation in stating that the desire of acquiring a knowledge of the English language and literature, evinced by the natives is very great and very prevalent ; and this is evident from the efforts which parents make to get their sons as quickly removed from the Vernacular into the English Schools as they can. Their motives for this acquirement are obvious, public employment, and a facility of intercourse with Europeans, but it seems to be hopeless that we can ever change the language of a whole country. In reality how insignificant a portion of the whole population are acquainted with the English, or have any prospect or means of becoming so. If our object is to diffuse knowledge and improve the minds of the natives of India as a people, it is my opinion that it must be done by imparting that knowledge to them in their own language. By what other channel can we ever hope to extend the advantages of Education generally to our females? I repeat, I am far from wishing to discourage the study of English, but I believe it to be beyond the reach of the masses of people. I cannot at the same time help remarking that the encouragement which we provide to Vernacular Education is far less

than what the real interest of Native Education demands; the Master's pay is so small and we have never as yet conferred any Scholarships on Vernacular Students. These sentiments are not new; they were entered in a protest given in by Colonel Jervis, Mohammed Ibrahim Mackba, and myself on the Board's report for 1845."[1]

The controversy grew bitter by 1848 and hence the whole question was submitted to Government for orders. These were passed on 5th April, 1848, and the following extract from the Government letter on the subject speaks for itself:—

"2. In these Minutes, two questions have been brought before Government for its consideration.

Firstly. Whether the English or Native languages should be the medium through which to convey the instruction to the people of India......

3. With respect to the first of these questions, I am directed to observe that the Hon'ble the Governor in Council is of opinion that any one, who observes and compares the proficiency attained by the pupils in the English and Vernacular schools, cannot fail to be convinced of the superiority which the latter manifest in sound and accurate understanding of the subject of their studies. He has no hesitation in declaring his acquiescence in the view of those who give the preference to the Native languages, in so far that he considers the main efforts for the general education of the people should be exerted in the language familiar to them from infancy; at the same time he would unquestionably afford them the means of acquiring the higher branches of education in the English language.

4. Hitherto, the greatest attention appears to have been devoted to the study of English, and the communication of knowledge in the vernacular seems to have been treated as of secondary moment; but before any lasting or effectual impression can be made by our teaching upon the native mind in general, or any advance towards producing better, more learned, or more moral men, the Governor in Council feels convinced that the process must be reversed, and that the Vernacular

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, pp. 16-17.

must become the medium for the diffusion of sound knowledge among the masses. He is consequently of opinion that the particular efforts ought to be directed towards increasing the efficiency of the District and Village schools in which that medium is employed, and in order to effect this object, it is very desirable that a more highly qualified class of school-masters should be trained up, and that their salaries should, where superior qualifications exist, be raised much above the small sum which is now assigned to them.

5. The dissemination of education through the native languages, is, by some, deemed impracticable, because the Natives possess no literature of their own, such as is desirable for the purpose, and because it is impossible to supply its place by translation. With regard to providing translations of useful elementary works in the vernacular languages, the difficulty seems to His Honour in Council to be somewhat overrated, for what was effected by the zeal and ability of Colonel Jervis and Dr. McLennan, many years ago, may, he conceives, again be effected by men, imbued with the same earnest desire to promote the improvement of the Natives. The duty of supplying a sufficient number of works, of the kind required, devolves upon the Government, who are prepared to consider the best means of providing translations, either under the superintendence of their own officers, or by offering premiums for good ones as proposed by Colonel Jervis....

6. In bringing the observations on this point to a conclusion, I am directed to intimate that the Governor in Council is of opinion that the present system should be maintained in as efficient a state as possible; admitting all who seek it, and who have capacity to acquire European learning, to the advantages of Education in the English language. The chief and greatest exertions should, however, be directed to the promotion generally of Education, by means of Vernacular classes and schools. Good elementary works in the Vernacular, on science, literature, and morals ought to be provided; while the efforts in English should be confined to a school in each Province, and the College at the Presidency, where moreover the higher branches of learning should be taught also in the Vernacular tongue, as the progress of translations may enable this to be effected."[1]

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, pp. 19-20.

These orders are decidedly in favour of education through the mother-tongue and yet they are capable of a different interpretation. As Sir Erskine Perry wrote:

"But whilst the Government thus enjoin the maintenance of the present system, which is in accordance with the views of myself, Mr. Escombe, and Dr. McLennan, they emit opinions so much more in accordance with the views of Colonel Jervis, that it is obvious that the different conflicting theories at the Board, which have already produced much inconvenience, will again be brought forward from time to time, and that each party will refer to this Government letter as an authority for their favourite views."[1]

It was this indecisiveness of the orders coupled with the repeated pressure from Bengal that throttled the growth of education in Bombay through the mother-tongue. In those days of centralization, the sanction of the Government of Bengal was necessary for all new items of expenditure. Consequently when the Government of Bombay put up proposals for the expansion of primary education, they were generally not sanctioned by the Government of Bengal on the ground of the heaviness of their cost and sometimes the Government of Bengal even advised the Government of Bombay to concentrate on English education because it was less costly to Government. The one definite result of the controversy was, therefore, the adoption of English as the exclusive medium of instruction at the collegiate stage. The attempts of Colonel Jervis and others succeeded in retaining the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction at the secondary stage only—a position which, as we shall see, was accepted even by the Despatch of 1854.

8. **Position of Education in Bombay (1853).** There is very little to narrate about the activities of the Board

[1] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, p. 22.

between 1848 and 1853. In 1851, the Poona Sanskrit College was combined with the Poona English School and was designated the Poona College. It came to be known later as the Deccan College. The Board continued its policy of establishing an English School in each District and of establishing primary schools in as many bigger villages as possible. The Board also conducted a Normal class for primary teachers in the Elphinstone Institution. The Despatch of 1854 describes the educational activities in Bombay Province in the following words :—

> "In the Presidency of Bombay the character of the education conveyed in the Anglo-vernacular colleges is almost, if not quite, equal to that in Bengal ; and the Elphinstone Institution is an instance of a college conducted in the main upon the principles of grant-in-aid, which we desire to see more extensively carried out. Considerable attention nas also been paid in Bombay to education through the medium of the vernacular languages. It appears that 216 vernacular schools are under the management of the Board of Education, and that the number of pupils attending them is more than 12,000. There are three inspectors of the district schools, one of whom (Mahadeo Govind Shastri) is a native of India. The schools are reported to be improving, and masters trained in the Government Colleges have been recently appointed to some of them with the happiest effect. These results are very creditable to the presidency of Bombay ; and we trust that each Government school will now be made a centre from which the indigenous schools of the adjacent districts may be inspected and encouraged."[1]

9. **Developments in Madras.** The history of education in Madras between the years 1833 and 1853 makes painful reading. It mostly consists, as Ritchey points out,

> "of minutes by successive Governors, Lord Elphinstone, Lord Tweeddale and Sir Henry Pottinger, outlining policies which

[1] Para 94.

were never fully adopted, of reports from the educational board submitting schemes which were never brought into effect, of orders of the local Government constituting new educational authorities each of which was short lived, together with despatches from the Court of Directors criticising the policies framed by the Governors, rejecting the schemes submitted by the educational board and dissolving the new educational authorities constituted by the local Government. We find, for example, that the Board of Public Instruction was reconstituted in 1836 as a Committee of Native Education, which in turn gave place in 1841 to a University Board; this Board was superseded by a Council of Education in 1845, which was dissolved at the instance of the Court of Directors in 1847, its duties being again undertaken by the University Board; Sir Henry Pottinger revived the Council of Education in 1848 only to replace it by a Board of Governors in 1851, which handed over its functions to the Department of Public Instruction which was formed in 1854. In view of the constant changes both in the policy of the local Government and in the personnel of the authority whose duty it was to carry out that policy, it is not a matter for surprise that the educational activities of the Madras Government were not fruitful in results or that we find in 1852 but one single institution in the Presidency founded or under the immediate control of Government."[1]

It is, therefore, unnecessary here to go into the details of the voluminous correspondence that is available on the subject. The following brief statement of events will be quite sufficient for our purpose:—

(i) The indigenous schools were never encouraged in Madras.

(ii) The District and Tahsildaree schools established by Munro were discontinued in 1836 as a result of the orders of the Government of Bengal which recommended the withdrawal of aid from the Collectorate and Tahsildaree schools, the establishment of an English College at Madras, and that of provincial English schools at some important places in the interior, if funds permitted.

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, p. 177.

(iii) A High School then called "the university" was established in Madras in 1841.

(iv) In 1853, a collegiate Department was organised in the Madras "University."

(v) Although the sanctioned allotment for education in Madras was only Rs. 50,000 a year, expenditure to the full amount was never incurred and a balance of over Rs. 3,00,000 had accumulated by 1853.

The following extract from the first report of the Director of Public Instruction in Madras for 1854-55 will give an idea of the extent of the educational activities of the Government of Madras till the end of 1853 :—

"At the commencement, therefore, of the period comprised in this report with the exception of the sums expended in the Districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, Nellore and Tanjore and in the maintenance of those elementary schools in the hill tracts of Ganjam, to which I have already alluded, and which were not brought under the superintendence of the Board of Education, the operations of the Government in the Education Department were confined to the Collegiate institution under the designation of an University at Madras, and to the two provincial schools at Rajamundry and Cuddalore. During the past years these operations have been extended by the establishment of three additional provincial schools at the stations of Combaconum, Calicut and Bellary, and of two elementary vernacular schools at, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Cuddalore."[1]

The only relieving factor of the situation was that Missionary activities were conducted on a very large scale in Madras and consequently English education was more extensively imparted there than even in Bombay where Government conducted an English School in almost every district in the Province.

The Indian Education Commission, 1882, states that, in 1854, about 30,000 boys were being educated in

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, p. 182.

schools conducted by Missionary Societies, and about 3,000 were obtaining at least the elements of a liberal education in English.[1]

10. **Developments in the North-Western Provinces.** The control of the educational institutions in the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh was transferred from the Government of Bengal to the Provincial Government in 1840. At that time, the Province had three colleges at Agra, Benares and Delhi, and nine Anglo-Vernacular Schools maintained by Government.

One of the earliest decisions of the Provincial Government was to educate the people through the medium of their mother-tongue and *not* through English. The reasons for this policy are thus stated in the first annual report on the progress of education in the province :—

> "In estimating the progress which has been made in the Educational Department in these Provinces, as well as in forming schemes for its future management, it must never be forgotten how much less encouragement there exists here for the study of English than is the case in the Lower Provinces and in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. There are here very few European Residents, except the functionaries of Government. There is no wealthy body of European Merchants transacting their business in the English language, and according to the English method. There is no Supreme Court, where justice is administered in English, no English Bar or Attorneys, no European Sea-borne Commerce, with its shipping and English sailors, and constant influx of foreign articles and commodities, even in the Public Service, the posts are very few in which a knowledge of the English language is necessary for a discharge of their functions."[2]

The Provincial Government accordingly prepared a scheme for the improvement and extension of education through the mother-tongue. This scheme was devised by Mr. Thomason who was then the Lieutenant

[1] *Report,* p. 11.
[2] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, pp. 228-9.

Governor of the Province, and is consequently known as *Thomason's plan.* As the first attempt made by a Provincial Government in India to adopt the recommendations of Adam, it deserves a careful study. The following extracts from a Resolution dated 9th February, 1850, will give an idea of its main features:—

"There will be a Government village school at the head-quarters of every Tahseeldar. In every two or more Tahseeldarees, there will be a Pergunnah visitor. Over these a Zillah visitor in each district, and over all a Visitor-General for the whole of the Province.

The Government village school at each Tahseeldaree will be conducted by a schoolmaster, who will receive from Government a salary of from 10 to 20 rupees per mensem, besides such fees as he may collect from his scholars. The course of instruction in this school will consist of reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Oordoo and Hindee, Accounts and the Mensuration of land according to the native system. To these will be added such instruction in Geography, History, Geometry, or other general subjects conveyed through the medium of the vernacular language, as the people may be willing to receive. Care will be taken to prevent these schools from becoming rivals of the indigenous schools maintained by the natives themselves. This will be effected by making the terms of admission higher than are usually demanded in village schools, and by allowing free admission only on recommendations given by village schoolmasters, who may be on the visitors' lists.

The Pergunnah visitors will receive salaries varying from 20 to 40 rupees a month. It will be their duty to visit all the towns and principal villages in their jurisdictions, and to ascertain what means of instruction are available to the people. Where there is no village school, they will explain to the people the advantages that would result from the institution of a school; they will offer their assistance in finding a qualified teacher and in providing books, etc. Where schools are found in existence, they will ascertain the nature of the instruction and the number of scholars and they will offer their assistance to the person conducting the school. If this offer is accepted, the school will be entered on their lists, the boys will be

examined and the more advanced scholars noted, improvements in the course or mode of instruction will be recommended, and such books as may be required will be procured. Prizes will be proposed for the most deserving of the teachers or scholars, and the power of granting free admissions to the tahseeldaree school be accorded.

The Zillah visitor will draw a salary between 100 and 200 rupees a month. He will superintend the Pergunnah visitors and the tahseeldaree schools. He will see that the former perform their duty, he will test the accuracy of their reports, and decide on the bestowal of the prizes, which they may recommend. The sum of 500 rupees per annum will be at the disposal of the Zillah visitor to give as reward within the district. He will pay particular attention to the tahseeldaree schools holding periodical examinations, and reporting on the conduct of the masters, and the progress and qualifications of the pupils. It will be his duty also to furnish an annual report on the state of education in the district, and in the compilation of this, he will carefully test the statistical data, which may be afforded him by the Pergunnah visitors. This report will include all schools, both those on his lists and those which are not, and he will describe the course of education followed in each class of schools. He will also ascertain as far as he may be able the extent and nature of the private instruction given to those of the upper classes, who do not attend schools. He will be the agent for the distribution and sale of school books, and will receive a commission of 10 per cent on all such sales, which he may effect.

It will be the duty of the Visitor-General to supply the subordinate Agency, and to superintend the working of the whole. He will correspond direct with the Government, and will furnish an Annual Report on the state of Education in the several districts under his charge, as soon as may be practicable after the 1st of May of each year."[1]

The cost of the scheme was estimated at Rs. 4,500 per district and the Directors gave sanction to the introduction of the scheme in eight districts out of 31. The first Visitor-General was H. S. Reid, who later

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, pp. 249-51.

became the Director of Public Instruction of the Province.

The Despatch of 1854 commended the above scheme to the notice of all the Provincial Governments. It said:—

"Lastly, what have been termed indigenous schools should, by wise encouragement, such as has been given under the system organized by Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Provinces, and which has been carried out in eight districts under the able direction of Mr. H. S. Reid in an eminently practical manner, and with great promise of satisfactory results, be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people. The most promising pupils of these schools might be rewarded by scholarships in places of education of a superior order."[1]

11. **Developments in the Punjab.** The Province of the Punjab was constituted in 1849. In the first administration report of the Province, an interesting account is given of the indigenous schools from which the following extracts are taken:—

"The schools are of three descriptions, namely, those resorted to by Hindoos, Mussulmans and Sikhs, respectively. At the Hindoo schools, writing and the rudiments of arithmetic are generally taught, in the Hindee character; at the Mussulman schools are read the Koran, in Arabic, and the didactic and poetical works of Sadi, in Persian (the *Gulistan* and *Bostan*); at the Sikh school, the Grunth in Goormukhi, or the repository of the faith, taught by Nanuck and Guroo Govind. In the Persian, Arabic and Goormukhi schools, which form the great majority, the studies being chiefly confined to sacred books written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil, do not tend to develop the intellectual faculties of either.

It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Punjab. The girls and the teachers (also females) belong to all of the three great tribes, namely, Hindoo, Mussulman and Sikh. The number is not of course large,

[1] Para 46.

but the existence of such an education, almost unknown in other parts of India, is an encouraging circumstance.

The school house is here, as elsewhere, primitive, such as a private dwelling, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the courtyard of a temple. The Mussalman schools are nearly all connected with the village mosque. In such a case, the same endowment would support both institutions. It is superfluous to observe that, wherever any land has been granted in rent-free tenure for such a purpose, either by the State and its representatives, or by the proprietary community, such foundations have been gladly maintained by the Board. The remuneration of the teachers is variable and precarious. It frequently consists of presents, grain and sweetmeats, given by the scholars and their parents. But, occasionally, the whole community subscribes for the support of the school, each member contributing so much per plough, which is considered to represent his means ; not unfrequently also, cash payments are made, and sometimes regular salaries are allowed. Cash allowances are perhaps more usual in the Punjab than in Hindoostan.

In parts of Hindoostan, it is discouraging to observe how such education is circumscribed within certain castes, such as Brahmins, Bunyas and Kayeths, who are exclusively devoted to learning commerce or penmanship ; while the great land-holding and agricultural tribes are wholly illiterate. A similar disproportion exists also in many parts of the Punjab. But, in other parts, education, such as it may be, is imparted chiefly to the agricultural population. In most districts, testimony is given that all classes, both agricultural and non-agricultural, manifest a desire for instruction."[1]

Government established a school at Amritsar in 1849 of which the following account is given in the above administration report :—

"A few words of special notice are due to the Umritsur school. The first annual report of this institution has been received. During the past year, the average daily attendance has increased from 107 to 153, that is, 50 per cent. Of these, about one-fourth study English. The progress in this department is considerable as might have been expected from the

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, pp. 278-9.

strong desire of learning English evinced by many parties in Umritsur, previous to the establishment of the school. Reading, spelling and writing; arithmetic, elementary geometry, and geography constitute the course of study. In Lahore, as well as Umritsur, the anxiety to acquire English is remarkable. Many Punjabee noblemen and gentlemen have their sons taught English privately, and many natives of Bengal who possess a smattering of English, find employment as teachers of that language.

In the Umritsur school, there are Hindee, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Goormukhee departments. The Sikh students of Goormukhee are about one-fifth of the whole number. Among the Hindee scholars, the prevailing castes are Khutrees and Brahmins; among the Sikh scholars, Jats. The great majority are residents of the city."

No other educational institutions were established in the province up to the end of 1853.

CHAPTER VII

WOOD'S EDUCATION DESPATCH

(1854)

IN the last two chapters, we traced the growth of official enterprise in the several provinces of British India during the period between 1833 and 1853 and showed how the official system of education came to be finally based on the *downward filtration theory* and how the authorities came to regard the spread of Western Science and knowledge through the medium of English as the goal of education. We shall now turn to the non-official effort in the field of education which was then mainly confined to the missionaries and trace its development during the same period.

2. **Missionary Enterprise (1833-53)**. The growth of missionary enterprise was even more rapid during the two decades following 1833 than during the two that preceded it. While the Charter Act of 1813 opened India to the missions from the United Kingdom only, the Charter of 1833 opened India to the traders and missionaries of all the world. Consequently missions of other nations came into the field, prominent among whom were the German and American missionary societies.

The Bassel Mission Society began at Mangalore in 1834 and soon extended its activities very largely in the Kannada and Malayalam territory. Thus it established stations at Mulki, Udipi, Dharwar (1837), Hubli (1839), Guledgud (1851), Betigeri (1853), Tellicherry (1839), Cannanore (1841), Calicut (1842), Coorg (1853), the Blue Mountains (1847), etc. Other important German

Societies were the *Protestant Lutheran Missionary Society* (founded at Dresden in 1836) and *Women's Association of Education of Females in the Orient* (founded in Berlin in 1842) both of whom did considerable missionary work in India.

Equally important was the appearance of the " well-manned and richly financed " American Societies amongst whom may be mentioned the American Baptist Union, the American Board, and the American Presbyterian Mission Board North. The *American Baptists* did some work in the Telugu area at Nellore (1840) and in Assam where it established stations at Sibsagar, Nowgong, and Gauhatti. The *American Board* had only one station in 1812 at Bombay. As soon as India was opened to missionaries of all nations by the Charter Act of 1833, they established stations at Madras, Madura (1834), Dindigul (1835), Tirumangalam (1838), Pasumalai (1845), Periacoppam (1848) and other places in the Tamil speaking area. The Marathi section of this mission established stations at Ahmednagar (1831), Sirur (1842), Satara (1849) and Sholapur (1861). The *Presbyterians* found a good field of activity in the North-Western Provinces where they established stations at Ludhiana (1834), Saharanpur and Allahabad (1836), Fatehgarh (1838) and Manipur (1843). From these provinces they extended to the Punjab where they established stations at Ambala (1848), Lahore (1849) and Rawalpindi (1856). It may be pointed out in passing that the *Church Missionary Society* also established stations at Amritsar (1852), Kangra (1854), and Multan and Peshawar in 1855. In fact, the Punjab was then a good field for missionary enterprise because many of its early Governors were men of great missionary zeal.

A large increase in the English schools conducted by

missionaries was the inevitable corollary of the extensive missionary activities mentioned above. During this *period, the view that English education would lead to the spread of Christianity was universally accepted by* missionary workers and English schools were deliberately established as a means of spreading the gospel. It was realised even then that the Indian pupils joined the missionary schools, not for the sake of religious instruction, but to learn English with a view to securing employment under Government. It was also soon discovered that the pupils put up with the compulsory Bible period as a matter of necessity and that they generally showed no interest in the teachings of Christ. But with the infinite patience and the incorrigible optimism that are characteristic of the missionary spirit, the workers of the Indian missions toiled in English schools in the hope that 'some seed at least is sure a strike'. The disillusionment came later—by about 1870—but, so far as the period under review was concerned, the hopes of a plentiful harvest of conversions through English schools ran high. Consequently,

> "the quarter century, 1830-57, is the *age of the mission school.* During that period the Government—in spite of the good intentions of Bentinck—lay really in an apathy which we find it hard to understand; for three years Lord Ellenborough was Governor-General, a man who regarded the political ruin of the English power as the inevitable consequence of the education of the Hindus! Hence at that time the mission school exercised a dominating influence over Indian Thought which it is difficult to estimate nowadays. In Bombay Dr. John Wilson (after Duff the most brilliant Scotch missionary of the day) founded the magnificent college which afterwards bore his name. At Madras Anderson and Braidwood opened the General Assembly's school in 1837, which, under the genial direction of Dr. Miller, the most famous educational missionary alive, has become the "Christian College". At

Nagpur in Central India, Stephen Hislop opened in 1844 the fourth of his Society's colleges. In 1853 the Church Missionary Society founded St. John's College at Agra, the first principal of which was the future Bishop French; in 1841 Robert Noble opened the "Noble" College at Masulipatam. These were the most famous of the colleges which were erected in rapid succession in the most widely separated parts of the country under the direct influence and inspiration of Duff, to say nothing of other colleges like those built at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay by the National Church of Scotland."[1]

3. **Relations between Officials and Missionaries.** This growth of missionary enterprise, whether in the sphere of proselytisation or of education, was greatly facilitated by the cordial relations that prevailed in this period between the officials of the Company and the missionaries. This was due to two causes: *firstly*, the period of 1833-53 was one of great reforms and liberal ideas in the social life of England with the result that many of the Company's officials were themselves inspired by missionary zeal; *secondly*, the fear that interference with religious institutions would be greatly resented by Hindus and Muslims—it was this fear that had mainly led to the adoption of the policy of religious neutrality in the earlier decades—was not entertained seriously during this period. One test case was made out in the abolition of *Sati*. The opponents of this reform had argued that the attempt would lead to revolts. But nothing of the kind happened and enlightened Hindus came forward to support the reform and thank the Government. Another instance of successful intervention with the religious institutions lay in the management by the Company of rich Hindu temples and Hindu religious fairs —an act that aroused no opposition and brought some profits to the Company to boot. The officials of this

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 183-4.

period, therefore, were not afraid to associate themselves openly with the missionaries and encourage their efforts. *Thirdly,* the mode of development of mass education in England also lent support to this attitude of the Company's officials. In those days, education was not regarded as the right of the poor people but was looked upon as an object of charity shown to them by religious or philanthropic persons; and Parliament did not provide direct educational facilities to the people but contented itself with the payment of grant-in-aid to the great denominational organisations that conducted all the elementary schools of the country. Consequently, the officials of the Company of this period also believed that education was an object of charity shown by the English nation to India and not a *right* of the people, and that the missionaries would do for India what the denominational schools did for poorer classes in England. The sum total of all these factors was that the relations between the missionaries and the officials of the Company were extremely cordial between 1833 and 1853—a fact that is in direct contrast to the strained relations that existed between them in the period of 1793 to 1813, or to the lukewarm feelings that prevailed in the two decades between 1813 and 1833. It was in this spirit of comradeship in a common cause that the Despatch of 1854 was written. Missionary historians aver that the great Indian missionary, Alexander Duff, who was in England at the time when the Despatch was written had a great hand in drafting it. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the Despatch marks a clear triumph for missionary enterprise—the greatest of the series which include the Charter Act of 1698, Wilberforce's Resolution in the House of Commons in 1793, the thirteenth

Resolution on the Charter Act of 1813, and the opening of India to missions of all countries by the Charter Act of 1833.

The Education Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 19*th July* 1854, is a document of great historical importance. It is popularly known as Wood's Education Despatch because it was probably written at the instance of Charles Wood who was then the President of the Board of Control. It is a long document of a hundred paragraphs and deals with several questions of great educational importance.

4. **Objects of Educational Policy.** To begin with, the Despatch explains why the Company undertook the organization of education in India and the results that it expected therefrom:—

> "Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England....
>
> We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated 'not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust'....
>
> Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India; this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us

a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."

5. **Controversy between the Anglicists and Classicists.** The Despatch then refers to the controversy between the Classicists and Anglicists in Bengal. It is worthy of note that the Despatch does not condemn the view of the Oriental party in a summary fashion as Macaulay did. It appreciates the advantages that spring from a study of the classical languages of India, and admits that "an acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India." It also mentions "the success of many distinguished Oriental scholars in their praiseworthy endeavours to engraft upon portions of Hindoo philosophy the germs of sounder morals and of more advanced science; "....and "the good effect which has thus been produced upon the learned classes of India, who pay hereditary veneration to those ancient languages". Nevertheless, the Despatch agrees with Lord Macaulay and points out that "the system of science and philosophy which forms the learning of the East abounds with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvement;" and concludes the discussion with the following declaration:—

"We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge."

6. **Medium of Instruction.** The question of the

medium of instruction is next dealt with. The Despatch first explains how it became necessary in the beginning to use English as a medium of instruction "owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India and to the very imperfect shape in which European knowledge is to be found in any works in the learned languages of the East." It admits, however, that one evil result of the measure had been to create a tendency to neglect the study of the "vernacular languages." The Despatch then proceeds to repudiate the suggestion that English was used as a medium of instruction by the Company merely to suppress indigenous education or to discourage the study of Indian languages and shows how English and Indian languages *together* may help to spread proper education in India. It says:—

> "It is neither our aim nor desire to subtsitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. These languages and not English have been put by us in the place of Persian in the administration of justice and in the intercourse between the officers of Government and the people. It is indispensable, therefore, that in any general system of education, the study of them should be assiduously attended to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of people—whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language—can only be conveyed to them through one or other of those vernacular languages.
>
> In any general system of education, English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through

that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect *medium* for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction *through* it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English. This can only be done effectually through the instrumentality of masters and professors, who may, by themselves, knowing English and thus having full access to the latest improvements in knowledge of every kind, impart to their countrymen, through the medium of their mother-tongue, the information which they have thus obtained. At the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literatures of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people. We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a schoolmaster possessing the requisite qualifications."

It will be seen that all the three problems dealt with in the Despatch so far are old controversies, and that the Despatch does nothing more than to sum up the conclusions already reached.

7. **New Schemes.** (i) *The Education Department*: The Despatch then proceeds to explain the new schemes that were to be introduced. The first of these was the creation of a Department of Public Instruction in each of the four provinces into which the territories of the Company were divided at that time, viz. Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Province, and the Punjab. This department was to be placed under an important officer to be called the Director of Public Instruction. He was to be assisted by an adequate number of Inspecting

Officers and was required to submit to Government an annual report on the progress of education in his province.

(ii) *Universities*: The second scheme related to the establishment of Universities. As we have already seen, the proposal for the establishment of a University at Calcutta made by the Council of Education in 1845 was negatived by the Directors on the ground that it was then premature. But now they were prepared to reconsider their decision and said:—

> "The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by the native candidates for Government scholarships and by native students in private institutions, the success of the Medical Colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India."

The Despatch, therefore, directs that universities should be established at Calcutta and Bombay and states that the Directors were "ready to sanction the creation of an University at Madras, or in any part of India, where a sufficient number of institutions exist, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied." All the Universities were to be modelled on the London University which was then an examining body. Their senates were to consist of a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows—all of whom were to be nominated by Government. The functions of the Universities were *mainly* to hold examinations and confer degrees. But the following instructions regarding the other duties of the University are greatly interesting:—

> "It will be advisable to institute, in connexion with the universities, professorships for the purposes of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not

now exist in other institutions in India. Law is the most important of these subjects....Civil Engineering is another subject....other branches of useful learning may suggest themselves to you, in which it might be advisable that lectures should be read, and special degrees given; and it would generally encourage the cultivation of the vernacular languages of India that professorships should be founded for these languages, and perhaps also for Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. A knowledge of the Sanskrit language, the root of the vernaculars of the great part of India, is more especially necessary to those who are engaged in the work of composition in those languages; while Arabic, through Persian, is one of the component parts of the Urdu language, which extends over so large a part of Hindoostan, and is, we are informed, capable of considerable development. The grammars of these languages, and their application to the improvement of the spoken languages of the country, are points to which attention of these professors should be mainly directed."

(iii) *Establishment of a Network of Graded Schools all over India*: Having described the two new schemes mentioned above, viz. the creation of the Education Department and the establishment of Universities, the Despatch proceeds to explain the network of graded schools which the Directors desired to spread all over the country. At one end of this gradation came the University and the affiliated colleges which gave instruction in various branches of art and science. Below these, came the high schools which gave instruction either through English or through a modern Indian language, and at the bottom came the indigenous primary schools.

The Despatch admitted that most of the attempts of Government in the past had been directed to the establishment of colleges which absorbed the greater part of the public funds that were then applied to education, and regretted the adoption of the *downward filtration theory* which led "to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of

acquiring a very high degree of education for a very small number of natives of India, drawn for the most part, from the higher classes." After stating that these higher classes may now be made to stand on their own legs, the Despatch observes:—

> "Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable incerase of expenditure."

To achieve this purpose, the Directors recommended a multiplication of High Schools. It is not generally understood that the Despatch visualized High Schools which imparted good general education through the Indian languages, but the following paragraph will make the whole position clear:—

> "We include these Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the media for imparting instruction differ. The knowledge conveyed is no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the Anglo-vernacular than in the vernacular schools; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of schoolmasters is raised up, able to impart a superior education."

Below the High and Middle Schools came the indigenous elementary schools which the Directors proposed to encourage by suitable grant-in-aid. In this connection, the Directors drew the attention of the Government of India to the plan for encouraging indigenous schools

adopted by Thomason in the North-Western Province and recommended its adoption as largely as possible.

As a connecting link between these various grades of schools, it was proposed to institute scholarships to be given to promising pupils in order to enable them to continue their studies at a higher school or college.

> "Such a system as this" says the *Despatch,* "placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection, beginning with the humblest elementary instruction, and ending with the university test of a liberal education, the best students in each class of schools being encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining superior education as the reward of merit, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India and lead to a gradual, but steady extension of its benefits to all classes of the people."

The above proposals of the Despatch have three important features—the rejection of the *downward filtration theory,* the adoption of the modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage, and the inclusion of indigenous schools as the very foundation of a national system of education. In all these principles, the Despatch marked a reversion of the retrograde policy laid down by Lord Auckland.

(iv) *Grant-in-Aid* : Excellent as this scheme was, it was obvious that, when fully carried out, it would have involved the Company in an enormous expenditure which it would not have been able to bear without additional taxation. Unfortunately, the Directors shirked to face this problem squarely. They made a non-committal remark that they were prepared to sanction "a considerable increase in expenditure" for their new programme and naively believed that a policy of giving grant-in-aid to private effort would solve the difficulties in Indian education as it had solved those of mass education in England. They said :—

"When we consider the vast population of British India and the sums which are now expended upon educational efforts, which, however successful themselves, have reached but an insignificant number of those who are of a proper age to receive school instruction, we cannot but be impressed with the almost insuperable difficulties which would attend such an extension of the present system of education by means of colleges and schools entirely supported at the cost of Government as might be hoped to supply, in any reasonable time, so gigantic a deficiency and to provide adequate means for setting on foot such a system as we have described and desire to see established."

The Despatch then proceeds to mention appreciatively the efforts at education made by Indians themselves and the educational activities of the missionaries, particularly amongst the backward communities or aboriginal hill tribes, and suggests that the only possible solution of the Indian educational problem is through a system of grant-in-aid. It says:—

"The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and the liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India, and of other benevolent persons.

We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by Government; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for

local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation."

The Despatch then suggests certain general considerations in the light of which each Provincial Government was expected to frame its own rules of grant-in-aid. For instance, aid was to be given to all schools which—

(*a*) impart a good secular education, any religious instruction which they may impart being simply ignored;

(*b*) possess a good local management;

(*c*) agree to submit to inspection by Government officers and to abide by such other conditions as may be prescribed; and

(*d*) levy a fee, however small, from the pupils.

The Provincial Governments were advised to follow the model of the grant-in-aid system of England, to sanction grants for specific objects such as increase in salaries of teachers, foundation of scholarships, construction of buildings, etc. and to evolve a system of grants which would embrace all types of educational institutions within its sphere, from the colleges at the top to the indigenous elementary schools at the bottom. The discussion of the subject is then concluded in the following words:—

"We look forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State."

One wonders at this emphasis on a grant-in-aid system at a time when Indian enterprise had hardly begun and missionary enterprise was quite out of proportion to the needs of the population. But the following comment of

a missionary on this part of the Despatch is illuminating :

"In connection with the second definite move in the new Indian educational policy, the famous "Educational Despatch" of Sir Chas. Wood (later Lord Halifax) on July 19th, 1854, Duff exercised, along with his distinguished friend Sir Chas. Trevelyan, a definite influence. When the protracted and complicated negotiations anterior to the last renewal of the East India Charter were going on in 1852, Duff was in England, and he was accepted, even in Government circles, as a supreme authority on Indian affairs. Frequently consulted upon this question, he threw the whole weight of his personality into the balance in order that this *Magna Charta of Indian education* might pass into law...

For missions too this grant-in-aid system was of great importance. Whereas formerly, in spite of the benevolent decrees of a Bentinck or a Hardinge, the Government had been loath to grant financial aid to mission schools, *missions now had the additional claim of a legal right.* And as missionaries like Dr. Duff had had a distinct influence in the shaping of the famous Despatch, it was perfectly clear that the main tendency of the new grant-in-aid system was to encourage the various missions to engage in the very congenial work of elementary education to a larger extent than ever before."[1]

In this connection, the attitude of the Despatch towards religious instruction is also worthy of note as it shows the official sympathy for missionary effort. So far as aided schools were concerned (which in those days meant missionary schools only) the Despatch desired that the Inspecting Officers should take "*no notice whatsoever*.. ..of the religious doctrines that may be taught in any school." As regards Government institutions, the Despatch stated :—

"Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India ; and in order to effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education

[1] Richter : *A History of Missions in India*, p. 180. (Italics ours.)

conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent, or discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from the masters upon the subject of the Christian religion provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits."

(v) *Training of Teachers*: The Despatch then proceeds to consider the question of securing properly qualified teachers for schools, and says:—

"In England when systematic attempts began to be made for the improvement of education, one of the chief defects was found to be the insufficient number of qualified schoolmasters and the imperfect method of teaching which prevailed. This led to the foundation of normal and model schools for the training of masters and the exemplification of the best methods for the organization, discipline and instruction of elementary schools. This deficiency has been the more palpably felt in India, as the difficulty of finding persons properly educated for the work of tuition is greater; and we desire to see the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools and classes for masters in each Presidency in India....

We cannot do better than refer you to the plan which has been adopted in Great Britain for this object, and which appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India. It mainly consists, as you will perceive on reference to the Minutes of the Committee of Council, copies of which we enclose, in the selection and stipend of pupil-teachers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed for the instruction out of school hours); their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools; the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as schoolmasters. This system should be carried out in India, both in the Govern-

ment colleges and schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection....

Our wish is that the profession of schoolmaster may, for the future, afford inducements to the natives of India such as are held out in other branches of the public service".

8. **Education and Employment.** The question of giving encouragement to educated Indians is then taken up. The Despatch states :—

"We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education....

What we desire is that, where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under Government are equal, a person who has received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should be preferred to one who has not; and that even in lower situations, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot if he is equally eligible in other respects..

But, however large the number of appointments under Government may be, the views of the natives of India should be directed to the far wider and more important sphere of usefulness and advantage which a liberal education lays open to them; and such practical benefits arising from improved knowledge should be constantly impressed upon them by those who know their feelings and have influence or authority to advise or direct their efforts".

9. **Female Education.** Finally, the Despatch offers a few suggestions regarding some other problems of education. For instance, the Despatch points out the necessity of providing suitable school books in Indian languages; the importance of vocational instruction and to that end, the need of establishing vocational colleges and schools of Industry; and the urgency of spreading

female education with regard to the last of which the Despatch observes :—

"The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-General in Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give to the native female education in India its frank and cordial support; and in this we heartily concur and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honour upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahadur Magahunbhai Karramchand who donated Rs. 20,000 to the foundation of two native female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female education becomes generally known."

10. **The Despatch Summed up.** Finally, after a brief review of the educational activities in each Province, the Despatch concludes with the following significant words :

"We have now concluded the observations which we think it is necessary to address to you upon the subject of the educacation of the natives of India. We have declared that our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people. We have directed such a system of general superintendence and inspection by Government to be established, as will, if properly carried out, give efficiency and uniformity to your efforts. We propose by the institution of universities to provide the highest test and encouragement of liberal education. By sanctioning grants-in-aid of private efforts, we hope to call to the assistance of Government private exertions and private liberality. The higher

classes will now be gradually called upon to depend upon themselves; and your attention has been more especially directed to the education of the middle and lower classes, both by the establishment of fitting schools for this purpose and by means of a careful encouragement of the native schools which exist, and have existed from time immemorial, in every village, and none of which perhaps cannot, in some degree, be made available to the end we have in view......

We believe that the measures we have determined upon are calculatd to extend the benefits of education throughout India; but, at the same time, we must add that we are not sanguine enough to expect any sudden, or even speedy, results to follow from their adoption. To imbue a vast and ignorant population with a general desire for knowledge, and to take advantage of that desire, when excited, to improve the means for diffusing education amongst them, must be a work of many years....

As a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people, and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance. The result depends more upon them than upon us; and although we are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India, or, in other words, from the taxation of the people of India, than is at present so applied, we are convinced, with Sir Thomas Munro, in words used many years since, that any expense which may be incurred for this object 'will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them and by the growing prosperity of the people'."

11. **Criticism of the Despatch.** Such were the main provisions of this document of great historical importance. Its immediate effects were the creation of an Education Department in each province of British India and the establishment of Universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It gave an impetus to secondary education and to some extent, to primary education also. It introduced the system of grant-in-aid and led to the establishment

of training institutions for teachers. The Despatch is the last and the most complete of a series of historical documents which includes Grant's Observations, Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813, Minutes of Lord Minto, Lord Moira, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, Lord Macaulay and Lord Auckland. It forms a fitting close to the first period in the history of Indian Education in which the framework of the present education system was evolved. It affords us an excellent platform from which we can take a retrospective glance at the past and, as the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe observed, it enables us "to find out how far we have achieved the educational objectives which the authors of the Despatch had in view, and to note the changes brought about in our educational objectives in the last hundred years, partly by mere lapse of time and partly by the new environment created by the educational progress in the period."[1]

It is a matter for regret that some of the most important recommendations of the Despatch were not carired out for a long time; some were given effect to in a mutilated form; while some more have yet to be acted upon. The encouragement of Indian languages which it promised remained a pious wish for a long time to come and the languages spoken and understood by the masses continued to languish. The desire of the Despatch to evolve a policy of grant-in-aid which would enable Government completely to withdraw from the field of educational activities was more observed in breach than in fulfilment. As the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe observes:—

"For over sixty years, however, Government institutions gradually increased in number and private enterprise was often discouraged rather than encouraged. During the first

[1] *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1941, p. 52.

thirty years, i.e. up to 1880, Christian missions were the only private agency in the field and Government did not have the courage to entrust the work of education to Christian missions whose primary aim was to secure converts to Christianity. The incidents of 1857 had demonstrated to Government the risk it ran in creating suspicion in people's mind regarding Government's attitude towards the religions of the people of India, and the Christian missions did not get the full measure of Government support although they continued to be the most favoured non-Government agency in the field of education."[1]

With the spread of education and new ideals of social service, Indian private enterprise began and multiplied. But Government was not prepared to hand over its schools and colleges to Indian management either, because it would not believe, in our opinion quite wrongly, in the capacity of Indians to conduct them efficiently.

The plans of mass education visualised by the Despatch have not been realised even to this day, nor have High Schools imparting education through the medium of the mother-tongue been established. It may be pointed out that it is to these, and other omissions to give full effect to the provisions of the Despatch, that the origin of many of the defects of the present educational system can be traced.

It is also interesting to note how some of the sentiments expressed in the Despatch have grown obsolete. For instance, the Despatch speaks of education "suited to every station in life." This is quite intelligible as an ideal of the early Victorian era when people believed in a "beautiful social order Providentially arranged" in which each person had a definite status according to birth or environment. But the idea jars upon a modern thinker who believes in equality of educational opportunity for all. Similarly, one is pained to find that the

[1] *Progress of Education*, Poona, July 1941, p. 47.

Despatch can only think of India to come as the supplier of raw materials for British industries and as the consumer of the finished products of England. This is a position which hardly any self-respecting Indian would accept at the present time either from the economic or educational point of view.

In pointing out these facts, let us not be misunderstood as belittling the work done or contemplated by the framers of the Despatch. We cannot, however, find any justification for the superlative terms in which some historians have described the Despatch and even called it "The Magna Charta of Indian Education." In our opinion, such a view betrays a lack of proportion. The Despatch, no doubt, did a lot towards the evolution of a good system of education in India according to the educational ideals then prevalent. But these ideals have changed so materially since then that it would help India very little to be now guided by the sentiments of the Despatch. As for calling it a Charter, one cannot do better than to quote the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe who observes :—

> "But in spite of all these good features it would be incorrect to describe the Educational Despatch of 1854 as an Educational Charter, i.e. an official paper bestowing or guaranteeing certain rights and privileges. The Despatch does not even refer to the ideal of universal literacy although it expects education to spread over a wider field through the grants-in-aid system; it does not recognize the obligation of the State to educate every child below a certain age; it does not declare that poverty shall be no bar to the education of deserving students; and while it may be admitted that employment in Government offices was not the object of English education as visualised in the Despatch, the authors did not aim at education for leadership, education for the industrial regeneration of India, education for the defence of the motherland, in short, education required by the people of a self-governing nation. It

was perhaps pardonable that the authors of the Despatch could not visualise the progress of Indian aspirations after a century —but that is admitting indirectly the imperfections of the Despatch. Whatever were its value in 1854, it would be ridiculous to describe the Despatch as an Educational Charter, in the year 1941."[1]

[1] *Progress of Education,* Poona, July 1941, pp. 51-2.

CHAPTER VIII

THE END OF THE FIRST PERIOD

The Despatch of 1854 was at first looked upon as the beginning of a great era of educational reforms under the East India Company. But, as events actually turned out, it proved to be its swan song. The Departments of Public Instruction were constituted in 1855-56 and the Universities were incorporated in 1857. But before any further action could be taken on the terms of the Despatch, the Company ceased to be a political power in 1858 and the Government of India came directly under the Crown.

With the Despatch of 1854, the first period in the history of education in India comes to an end. As will have been realised from the perusal of the foregoing chapters, it was a period of *controversies* rather than of *achievements.* The East India Company was busy with Commerce, Conquest and Consolidation, and it is hardly a matter for surprise if the Directors and Officials of the Company did not devote sufficient attention and money to the cause of education. Much of the time was taken up by discussions regarding the *aims* of education, the *agencies* to be employed, and the *medium* of instruction. The net achievements were insignificant as compared with the vastness of the population and the backwardness of its education. Even as late as 1855, the total number of educational intsitutions managed, aided or inspected by the Company was as small as 1,474 with only 67,569 pupils, and the total expenditure on education was not even one per cent of the total revenue.

The main interest of this period lies, therefore, not

in its achievements, but in a few problems of fundamental importance that came to be discussed and decided. The most important of these relates to the *objects* with which the modern educational system was organised. Unfortunately, the subject is still controversial. One section of educationists holds the view that the system was entirely motivated by the desire to secure lower officers for the public administration of the country, while another argues that it was organised with the most philanthropic and altruistic motives.

The truth is perhaps equally far from either of these politico-cum-educational viewpoints. As stated in the Despatch of 1854, the three objects with which the educational system of India was organised were (1) to spread western knowledge, (2) to secure properly trained servants for the public administration of the country, and (3) to do the Sovereign's duty by the Indian subjects. All these viewpoints existed at all times and were emphasized in varying degrees by different classes of officials and educational workers; and even the view of the same group of officials or workers changed in accordance with the changes in the social and political life of England herself. For instance, we find that the first view was generally held by missionaries and such officials of the Company as were inspired by a missionary zeal; the second is most frequently found in the Despatches of the Court of Directors who, as financiers and traders, emphasized the importance of recruiting cheap and efficient servants for the public administration of the country; and the third is found in the writings of men like Macaulay, Munro, or Metcalfe. If we go by periods, we find that the second view dominated the discussions in the period of 1823-33 and the first dominated those in the period 1833-53. The

explanation of the phenomena obviously lies in the fact that in the earlier period, the finances of the Company were in a bad condition and strenuous attempts had to be made to reduce the cost of administration, while in the second period, a wave of liberal ideas dominated English life.

A dispassionate examination of the existing data will, however, show that it would be unjust to conclude that the system of liberal education was organised with the *sole* object of securing servants although there can be no doubt that the system of *professional education* was so motivated. In our opinion, the *main* object of organizing the system of *general education* was the spread of Western knowledge and science. It was with this aim that the Universities were established, and a beginning was made in giving education to women. Neither of these activities can be explained on the assumption that the *sole* object of the educational system was to secure servants for Government. A careful study of the Minutes of Munro and Elphintsone, the speeches of Macaulay, and Lord Hardinge's Resolution of 1844, will show that such an interpretation is untenable. These pioneers, at any rate, did not think that the people should be educated because Government required servants. On the other hand, they believed that employment under Government was to be used as a means of overcoming the suspicion which a conservative people would naturally feel towards the 'new-fangled' institutions of an alien Government, as a bait to divert the young men of the upper classes from the study of Oriental to Occidental literature, and as a just fulfilment of the ambition that would be naturally aroused in the young hearts that had drunk at the fountain of Western culture. It would be an unfair estimate of the work of

these pioneers of the Indian educational system to say that securing servants for public administration was either the sole or even the main aim of *their* endeavours.

The *second* important problem of this period was the prolonged controversy regarding the medium of instruction. The conclusions reached by 1854 were three:

(*a*) English was to be used as the medium of instruction at the Collegiate stage.

(*b*) Secondary education was to be imparted both through English and through modern Indian languages, the level of instruction in both these types of institutions being kept the same.

(*c*) The modern Indian languages were to be carefully studied and encouraged so that they could be made the media for imparting higher education.

Had the two latter conclusions been followed in later years, there would have been no need to regret the decisions of this period. But as events actually turned out, the study of Indian languages was almost neglected; and Secondary (High) Schools teaching through the mother-tongue entirely disappeared, with the unhappy result that the study of English as a language began to dominate the whole course of education.

The *third* important controversy of this period centred round the *Downward Filtration Theory* which, as we have seen, completely dominated official thought throughout the thirty years between 1823 and 1853. It is also worthy of note that it was in the adoption of this theory that official effort differed mainly from that of the missionaries. The latter began their work among the lower strata of society where they found a congenial field for their proselytising activities, while the former began

with the influential upper classes who had to be pacified for political reasons.

There are two ways of looking at the *Downward Filtration Theory.* According to the first, Government was to educate only the "upper classes" of society with a view to creating a "governing class" in India, consisting of Sardars, Nawabs, Rajas and such other aristocratic classes. This is hardly a correct interpretation of the early official attempts to spread education. It is true that the early administrators wanted to pacify those classes of society which had been adversely affected by a change of Government by educating them in the first instance and then employing them in certain offices under the Company. Even assuming that such an attempt would have succeeded, it would not be correct to describe it as an attempt to create a "governing class"; it would be more correct to describe it as an attempt to secure loyalty by the grant of petty favours. But admittedly, the attempt did not succeed and instead of educating the aristocrats Government had to educate all those classes of society which were quick to perceive the worldly advantages that could be obtained through the new educational system. For instance, when Warren Hastings started the Calcutta Madrassah, he intended to educate the sons of Mahomedan *gentlemen;* but it was the *Bhadralok* of Bengal who availed themselves of most of the educational opportunities that were offered under the new regime.

There is, on the other hand, another aspect of the *Downward Filtration Theory* which is of greater importance to the students of educational history. It was the view of Macaulay and others that Government should educate only a few persons and leave it to these persons to educate the masses. It was on this view, rather

than on the idea of creating a 'governing class' in India, that most of the Provincial attempts at education of the people were based. To put it briefly, Government did not accept, until 1854, any *direct* responsibility for the education of the masses; on the contrary, it decided *to educate a class as a means of ultimately educating the masses.*

It is often represented that this idea was fundamentally unsound, that it came in the way of expansion of education in general and of mass education in particular, and that Government blundered badly in adopting it in the very first phase of its educational policy. We cannot subscribe entirely to this view. In our opinion, the *idea* was not fundamentally unsound, at least according to the ideology of the early nineteenth century when education was not regarded as a duty of the State *even* in England. It was, therefore, quite pardonable if the Company believed that India must ultimately be educated by Indians themselves and that its duty would be fulfilled if it could initiate a few Indians in Western Culture. Similarly, we cannot agree with the view that this theory came in the way of expansion of education in general and of mass education in particular. For, the expansion of Collegiate and Secondary education which we see in our midst today is due more to the efforts of educated Indians themselves than to those of Government or of missionaries. In the same way, it is wrong to think that this idea led to the neglect of mass education. It would be more correct to say that the adoption of this theory as well as the neglect of mass education were due to one common cause, viz. financial stringency.

As we look at the problem, the educational administrators of the early nineteenth century could hardly be

blamed for adopting *the education of a few* as the goal of their activities. They were called upon to face a colossal task ; they had few suitable men and the poorest of means ; and the adoption of such an ideal was the only solution of their difficulties. The one miscalculation of which they were guilty, however, was to assume that every educated Indian like the great Archimedes of old, would immediately rush out of the English colleges and schools shouting "Eureka" at the top of his voice. This did not happen, at any rate, for about fifty years after Macaulay's Minute was written, and once again, as so often before, the best laid schemes of Indian educators went agley. The failure was due to two causes :

> *Firstly,* almost every person educated in English schools got employment under Government ; and hence there was hardly any occasion for him to go and teach his own countrymen.
>
> *Secondly,* every person who was taught in English schools was cut off from his own people in sympathy and ideology. The English-knowing person became a class by himself and refused to acknowledge kinship with, or feel sympathy for, the masses who did not know English. This unhappy result of the use of English as a medium of instruction had already been foreseen and as early as 1847 Colonel Jervis had sounded a warning to the effect that *the educated few would not educate the ignorant many* unless the connection between them was kept up by fostering the languages of the people. But this salutary warning went unheeded.

The real enemies of mass education, therefore, were, *not the class-education theory,* but the disappearance of the indigenous schools, the neglect of modern Indian

languages, the adoption of English as a medium of instruction, and the paucity of funds.

The *fourth* interesting controversy of this period relates to female education. In Chapter II, we have pointed out the poor condition of female education in the early nineteenth century and some of the queer Indian prejudices against the education of women. For a long time, the Company was loath to tackle the problem of female education, because, owing to a rather peculiar interpretation of the doctrine of religious neutrality, it was generally unwilling to offend even those social customs which had little or nothing to do with religion. The pioneer work in this direction was, therefore, done by the missionaries in the first instance and later on by enlightened Indians themselves. In 1824, the American Missionary Society opened its first Girls' School in Bombay. In 1826, the Church Missionary Society had opened, in the neighbourhood of Poona, five schools for the daughters of the upper classes of Hindus. Similarly in Madras, the first direct effort at educating the Hindu girls of the higher castes was made in 1841 by the Scottish Missionary Society. It was opposed for some time, but from 1843, the efforts of the Missionaries began to succeed. By 1854, the Missionary Societies in Madras Province gave education to about 7,000 girls. In Bengal also the lead in female education was taken by the missionaries, and a number of girls' schools were established in Calcutta by Mrs. Wilson as early as 1826.

In the wake of the missionaries, Indians also came forward to spread female education. Great interest was evinced by the followers of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal, the Parsees of Bombay, and the Banias of Gujarat. Mention must also be made of the efforts of

Mahatma Jotiba Phule who conducted a girls' school in Poona as early as 1851. Although the ground was thus made ready for the Company to take up the work under its direct departmental agency, the Directors were still hesitant and, even in 1849, declined to associate their name with girls' schools.

The Officials of the Company, therefore, made attempts in their personal capacity to spread female education. Thus Professor Patton of the Elphinstone College established a "Students' Literary and Scientific Society" which supported nine free girls' schools in the city of Bombay. Similarly, Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, the Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, established the Hindu female school in Calcutta in 1849 (later known as the Bethune Ladies College) and also left, by his will, lands and other property in Calcutta, for its endowment in perpetuity. Lord Dalhousie undertook to support the school on Bethune's death in 1851, and for five years paid Rs. 8,000 annually towards its maintenance from his private purse. To him also belongs the honour of breaking away from the old timid policy and of directing the Council of Education, Calcutta, and the Provincial Governments, that they should consider the spread of female education as one of their most important duties—a direction that was fully approved by the Despatch of 1854.

When the Despatch was received, there were 288 girls' schools with 6,869 pupils in Bengal, 65 girls' schools with 3,500 pupils in Bombay, and 256 girls' schools with about 8,000 pupils in Madras. The figures are small no doubt, but they mark the beginning of the greatest of all educational effort, the very foundation of the real national education in India.

Chapter IX

A PERIOD OF INDIANISATION

(1854-1921)

The period of sixty-seven years between the Despatch of 1854 and the transfer of the control of education to the hands of Indian Ministers in 1921 forms the second period in the history of modern education in India.

Prior to 1854, Indian educational effort was mostly confined to indigenous institutions and the responsibility of educating a few Indians in Western knowledge and Science—preferably through the medium of English—was more or less confined to Government and missionaries. As we shall see later in Chapters XV to XVII, the indigenous schools mostly died out during this period, on account either of their neglect by the newly created Education Departments or of the official attempts at " improvement " which, by an irony of fate, generally " involved their destruction ". It is true that during this period the Education Departments organised, either directly or through the Local Boards and Municipalities, a large number of primary schools of a type which was " nearer to their heart's desire "; but these scarcely made up for the loss caused by the ruin of the indigenous schools and, in so far as pupils in primary schools or percentage of literacy were concerned, the Indian Ministers of 1921 had to begin at a stage which differed only slightly from that of a hundred years ago. The only educational system, therefore, that survived and progressed during the period under review was the new system of education whose ideal was to spread Western

knowledge and Science through the medium of English.

In this branch of educational activity, the missionaries reigned supreme in 1854, Government efforts came next, and private Indian enterprise occupied the lowest place. But in the next seven decades, a great revolution came about. The missionary efforts thrived for a time but their expansion was soon restricted on account of the non-fulfilment of the great hope of proselytisation which was expected to result from English schools, the lack of sufficient encouragement at the hands of Government, and the unwillingness of missionary bodies to conduct educational activities for non-Christian children ; the direct efforts of Government were also limited by financial considerations ; and it was Indians alone who availed themselves most of the system of grant-in-aid, especially after the report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882. Private Indian enterprise, therefore, occupied the first and the most important place in secondary and collegiate education in 1921.

The main object of this Chapter is to trace the history of this great revolution in modern education in India. From this point of view, this period may be conveniently divided into three sub-periods, viz. (*i*) 1854 to 1882, (*ii*) 1882 to 1902, and (*iii*) 1902 to 1921.

2. **Events of the Period 1854 to 1882.** It was shown in Chapter VII that the Despatch of 1854 expected a rapid multiplication of *private* schools and not of *departmental* ones. But during the three decades that followed we shall see how the policy of the Departments was exactly opposed to this recommendation of the Despatch.

In those days, Indians had just entered the field of educational enterprise on modern lines, and hence 'private effort' in education meant mainly missionary effort. In 1854, most of the non-indigenous primary

schools were conducted by missionaries and almost half the pupils attending English schools were in missionary institutions. The Despatch of 1854 had aroused hopes of a great era of expansion in which Government would eventually withdraw from direct educational enterprise and the missionary schools, supported by liberal grant-in-aid, would cover the whole country. But a sad disillusionment followed within a few years. The events of 1857 led to an agitation in England that missionary activities should not be encouraged and that a policy of strict religious neutrality should be adopted in India. The missionaries, on their part, made great attempts to push forward their claims. For instance, the following memorial was presented to Queen Victoria in 1858 by the Church Missionary Society :—

"Your Memorialists humbly beseech Your Majesty to have it declared to the public authorities in the East Indies :—

1. That the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained, but that, as it is the belief of Your Majesty and of this Christian nation that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation.

2. That since the Government, in addition to maintaining its own educational establishments, provides grants-in-aid to all other schools which provide a prescribed amount of secular knowledge . . . the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all the Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian principles upon which Your Majesty's Government is to be conducted.

3. That any connection which may still subsist between the Indian Government and the revenues or ceremonies of the Muhammadan, Hindu, or other false religion shall at once cease and determine."[1]

[1] Richter : *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 207-8.

But political considerations prevailed and the missionaries lost the battle. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 adopted a policy of strict neutrality in religious matters and gave an assurance to the people that Government had neither the right nor the desire to impose Christianity upon India.

Between 1858 and 1882, therefore, the policy of the Department was marked by two important features, viz., a rapid multiplication of Government educational institutions and an unsympathetic attitude to mission schools. The former was due to (*i*) the fear of possible political repercussions of Government encouragement to missionary enterprise, (*ii*) the absence of private Indian enterprise on a sufficiently large scale, and (*iii*) the desire of officials of the Department, on grounds of efficiency, to conduct schools and colleges under their direct supervision. The following statistics speak for themselves :—

Institutions conducted directly by the Department.

Institution	1855		1882[1]	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1. Arts Colleges (English and Oriental) ...	15	3,246	38	4,252
2. Professional Colleges and Schools ...	13	912	96	3,670
3. Secondary Schools ...	169	18,335	1,363	44,605
4. Primary Schools ...	1,202	40,401	13,882	6,81,835
5. Normal Schools and Classes ...	7	197	83	2,814
Total ...	1,406	62,731	15,462	7,37,176

[1] These figures exclude the statistics of the very large number of primary schools (maintained in 1882 out of the local fund cesses or rates) which were non-Government only in name. But even excluding them, the above figures show how large was the increase in the educational institutions directly conducted by the Department.

As regards the unsympathetic attitude towards missions, it is interesting to note that the officials of those days,—many of whom were agnostics or lacking in missionary zeal,—made it difficult for the missions to work either within the system or without it. For instance, here are some of the difficulties which missionaries experienced while working *within* the official system:—

"We cannot, however, pass over the fact that there were great disadvantages bound up with the new school system. Whereas in the first few years the Government preferred to appoint missionaries as inspectors of schools, yet later on, and especially after the great Mutiny of 1857, it turned its back almost entirely upon them, no doubt out of exaggerated religious neutrality, and chose with predilection Englishmen indifferent to religion or non-Christian Brahmans for these positions. As the yearly grants—the hinge on which the new system turned—depended on the result of the annual visitations and examinations conducted by these gentlemen, it came about that mission schools, for instance, were often in a state of very undesirable dependence on the goodwill or the good temper of officials who were antagonistic to missions. How much caprice and party spirit it was possible to exercise in the conducting of examinations, the inspection of school buildings, and the criticism of the school staff! How much vexation and worry were thereby set in motion! . . . It was also a direct consequence of the uniformity aimed at by Government—a consequence that also worked remarkably for the convenience of the inspectors!—that the text-books recommended by those in authority were introduced practically everywhere; these text-books were for the most part neutral as to religion even, if not directly antagonistic to Christianity, and their introduction simply meant that the books compiled at great pains by the missionaries were crowded out of existence." [1]

Similarly, the Department often followed a policy of direct competition which made it impossible for the missionaries to work *independently* of the official

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 308.

educational system. Richter narrates the following interesting account of one such experiment:—

"They (i.e., missionary schools) now found in the rapidly developing educational schemes of the Government an all-powerful rival. What position should they take up with regard to it? The mission school has of necessity two main objects which the Government neither can nor will include in its programme—the dissemination of a fundamental knowledge of Christian teaching, and the training of a body of native assistants. It seemed to be the best solution of the difficulty for the two to pursue their schemes amicably but separately, and for the missionaries to endeavour to render their school system independent and up-to-date. The Basel Missionary Society after a short-lived enthusiasm for the new Government scheme, which was shared at that time by nearly all the Societies, was the first to take action along these lines. In 1860, it severed its connection with the Government system, and reorganised its schools along its own lines. The results were overwhelming. On entering upon this new policy the Basel Society had hoped, perhaps in too sanguine a fashion, to gain possession of the whole school system in the provinces where it laboured. But instead of this the Government wrested from them the direction of all things educational, even in the midst of their main spheres of activity, Kanara and Malabar. First of all, the English school at Cannanore had to be given up because the Government had erected a similar one in the same place (1861). Then at the English school in Kanara there were not enough missionaries who, in addition to the ordinary school subjects, were sufficiently masters of English language and literature to satisfy the demands of the Government for a provincial school of this type. The English school at Calicut was simply crushed out of existence, owing to an elaborate school plan set down by the Government in the immediate neighbourhood. In the native schools such thorough-going reforms were insisted upon that, of 1450 scholars in 1862, only 648 remained in 1866. In 1867 the missionaries sent an urgent request to the Missionary Committee asking for re-union with the Government educational system, and the Committee complied, though with heavy hearts, in order that the missionaries might not be driven to the wall, and robbed of all influence

upon the rising generation. Thus an educational scheme apart from that of the Government proved an impossibility; against such rivalry it was unable to hold one's own."[1]

It was these difficulties that made the missionaries start an agitation, both in England and in India, to the effect that the educational administration of India was not carried on in accordance with the Despatch of 1854 which had recommended the closure or transfer of Government schools, that the officials were competing with missionary enterprise to such an extent that the latter was threatened with extinction, and that the secular educational institutions of Government were 'Godless' and irreligious. It was this agitation that led to the appointment of the Indian Education Commission[2] in 1882 and the three most important problems that the Commission was called upon to decide were (*i*) the role of Government institutions in the educational system of India, (*ii*) the relation of Government to private enterprise, and (*iii*) the place of missionary effort in Indian Education.

3. **Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission regarding withdrawal of Government from Direct Educational Enterprise.** On the first of these issues, the Commission had to decide whether Government educational institutions were to go on multiplying as they had done in the last twenty-five years, or whether their expansion was to be curtailed in order that private enterprise might have "room to expand and liberal grant-in-aid to feed upon." For several reasons of great weight, the Commission recommended the latter alternative. In the first place, Government had frankly told the

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 312-3.

[2] This Commission consisted of the representatives of Government, Missionaries and Indians and was presided over by Sir W. W. Hunter.

Commission that the funds at its disposal were so limited that if satisfactory progress was to be made at all, "every available private agency must be called into action to relieve and assist the public funds in connection with every branch of public Instruction." A system of grant-in-aid became, therefore, an absolute necessity, "if the educational *means* of the country were to be made co-extensive with educational *wants*". Secondly, the paucity of funds made it necessary to make every pie go the longest way and it was urged that, if Government were to transfer its institutions (which were necessarily costlier) to private bodies, it would effect a considerable saving which might be advantageously used for aiding more educational institutions. For these and other reasons, *the Commission recommended that Government should not only curtail the expansion of its institutions, but should also withdraw from direct enterprise as soon as a suitable agency, public or private, became available to carry on the work.*

In so far as primary education was concerned, the Commission recommended the *complete* withdrawal of Government from direct enterprise and the transfer of all primary schools to the control of local self-government bodies such as Municipalities and Local Boards which were then being reorganised. With regard to secondary schools and colleges, the Commission was of opinion that these schools should be transferred to private agencies only and *not* to Local Bodies, *except perhaps as a transitional measure.* As it observed :—

"We have chiefly had in view the transfer to Local or Municipal Boards of primary schools, which contribute directly to the welfare of the entire local community and the management of which is comparatively easy. How far it is desirable that such bodies should manage institutions of a higher

order is still in some degree a moot point. Experience may be expected to cast light on it in coming years. It is possible that the boards may consider the management of schools that confer a direct benefit on comparatively few as lying beyond their proper sphere. It is also possible, on the other hand, that secondary schools may be found to prosper better under committees of men who have special interest in education than under bodies primarily intended to accomplish very different purposes. At the least we desire that no obstacle be offered to the provision of secondary instruction by voluntary associations of native gentlemen formed specially for that purpose if such a course be shown by experience to be most advisable on the whole. We therefore recommend that if in any province the management of Government schools of secondary instruction be transferred either to Municipalities or Local Boards, or to Committees appointed by those bodies, *encouragement be given to the subsequent transfer of the schools concerned to the management of associations of private persons combining locally with that object, provided they are able to afford adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.*"[1]

The Commission, therefore, made the following recommendations regarding the withdrawal of Government from the direct management of secondary schools and colleges :—

(*a*) That in dealing with the question of the withdrawal of Government from the management of existing colleges, these colleges be regarded as divided into three classes, viz. :—

(*i*) those from which it is premature for Government to consider the propriety of withdrawal, on the ground that they are, and will long continue to be, the institutions on which the higher education of the country mainly depends.

(*ii*) those that might be transferred with advantage, as a measure promising useful political results, to bodies of native gentlemen, provided the new managers give satisfactory guarantees that the college will be maintained permanently, in full efficiency, and in such a way as to make it adequate for all the wants of the locality.

[1] *Report,* p. 443.

(iii) those which have been shown to be unsuccessful, or of which the cost is out of proportion to the utility, and from which Government might advantageously withdraw even with less stringent guarantees for permanent efficiency. Such colleges should be closed if, after due notice, no local body be formed to carry them on with such a grant-in-aid as the rules provide.

(*b*) that it be distinctly laid down that the relation of the State to secondary is different from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education only when adequate local co-operation is forthcoming; and that, therefore, in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grant-in-aid.

(*c*) that, in ordinary circumstances, the further extension of secondary education in any District be left to the operation of the grant-in-aid system, as soon as that District is provided with an efficient high school, Government or other, along with its necessary feeders.

(*d*) that, in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary instruction, aid at specially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, wherever necessary, to any local body willing to undertake the management of any such institution under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

(*e*) that, in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, provision be also made for the legal transfer to the new managers of all educational endowments, buildings and other property belonging to such institutions in the hands of Government.

(*f*) that, in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, the incumbents of offices under Government be secured in the enjoyment of all their existing rights and privileges.

(*g*) that the fact that any school raises more than 60 per cent of its entire expenditure from fees be taken as affording

a presumption that the transfer of such school to local management can be safely effected.

4. **Recommendation of the Commission regarding the development of the system of grant-in-aid.** As a corollary to the above recommendation, the Commission laid great emphasis on the *encouragement of private effort.* Its recommendations on this subject (these referred to all types of educational institutions) are given below :—

(*a*) Institutions under private managers cannot be successful unless they are frankly accepted as an essential part of the general scheme of education. . . . We have decided . . . that the time has not come when a representative board should be set up to control or influence the educational executive, but meanwhile, a useful substitute for such a Board may be provided by free and frequent consultation between the State and those whom the State has invited to co-operate with itself. If aided institutions are thus to have the cordial sympathy of the Department, it follows that any success on their part must be as fully and warmly acknowledged as the similar success of a departmental institution. It follows, too, that when any changes are from time to time proposed, the bearing of such changes on the welfare and convenience of schools under private managers should be carefully weighed. . . . For reasons such as these, we recommend that, with a view to secure the co-operation of Government and non-Government institutions, the managers of the latter be consulted on matters of general educational interest, and that their students be admitted on equal terms to competition for certificates, scholarships and other public distinctions.[1]

(*b*) In the conduct of all departmental examinations, managers or teachers of non-Governmental schools should be associated as far as possible with the officers of the Department.

(*c*) All scholarships and rewards that Government confers should be given to pupils from all schools and not restricted to those in Government institutions only.

(*d*) The proximity of a Government school should not be regarded as of itself a sufficient reason for refusing aid to a

[1] *Report,* pp. 436-7.

non-Government school. In this connection, the Commission observed:—

"Another condition should be observed if private effort is to accomplish all that it is capable of. Room must be made for it as its area gradually expands. Wherever it becomes fit to do the work needed, the Department should remove its own institutions as the Despatch of 1854 contemplates. It must always be a difficult and delicate thing to settle when a departmental institution, or any particular branch of it, ought thus to be withdrawn. If such a step be taken too soon, it may propagate the idea that Government has ceased to wish that opportunities for higher education should be afforded. If delayed too long, it must propagate the equally hurtful idea that the people should depend on Government entirely without making an effort for themselves; and any such idea is of course fatal to private effort."[1]

(*e*) With the object of rendering assistance to schools in the form best suited to the circumstances of each province and thus to call forth the largest amount of local co-operation, the grant-in-aid rules should be revised by the Local Governments in consultation with the managers of schools. The revised rules should define without ambiguity the amount and duration of the aid to which an institution may be entitled and the conditions of grants for buildings, apparatus, and furniture.

(*f*) Every application for a grant-in-aid should receive an official reply, and in case of refusal the reasons for such refusal should always be given.

(*g*) It should be a general principle that the grant-in-aid should depend (*i*) on *locality*, i.e., larger proportionate grants be given to schools in backward districts; and (*ii*) on *the class of institutions*, i.e., greater proportionate aid be given to those in which a large amount of self-support cannot be expected, e.g., girls' schools and schools for lower castes and backward communities.

(*h*) Grants be paid without delay when they become due according to the rules.

(*i*) The revised rules for grant-in-aid and any subsequent alterations made in them should be not merely published in the official gazettes, but translated into the Indian languages,

[1] *Report*, p. 439.

and communicated to the press, to the managers of aided and private institutions and to all who are likely to help in any way in the spread of education.

(*j*) A periodically increasing provision should be made in the educational budget of each province for the expansion of aided institutions.

(*k*) The system of grant-in-aid should be based as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted; provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.

(*l*) Variety in the course of instruction in aided schools should be encouraged by grants for special subjects.

(*m*) Greater latitude should be given to the managers of aided schools in fixing the course of instruction and the medium through which it is conveyed.

(*n*) Care should be taken lest public examinations become the means of practically imposing the same text-books or curriculum on all schools.

(*o*) It should be distinctly laid down that Indians having the necessary qualifications should be employed as Inspectors of Schools more commonly than in the past.

These comprehensive recommendations of the Commission were based on undisputed principles of a successful system of grant-in-aid such as the recognition of aided institutions as equal to Government institutions in matters of status and privileges, the provision of liberal financial assistance, abstinence from interference with internal management, and appointment of officials who can command the confidence of the managers. Had they been accepted in toto, the expansion of education would undoubtedly have been far more rapid than what it actually was.

5. Recommendation of the Commission regarding

Missionary Enterprise. Equally important were the recommendations of the Commission regarding the place of missionary enterprise in Indian education. It must be remembered that the recommendation of the Commission regarding the transfer of primary schools to Local Boards and Municipalities did not affect the missionaries, firstly because the primary schools conducted by them were few, and secondly because the Commission had proposed adequate safeguards to private primary schools against any capricious administration of the grant-in-aid rules by the Local Bodies. But the withdrawal of Government from direct management of secondary and collegiate education became a subject of great controversy. In this connection, one cannot do better than quote the words of the Commission itself:—

"The question how far the withdrawal of the State from the direct provision of means of higher education would throw such education into the hands of missionary bodies, held the foremost place in all the evidence bearing on the topic of withdrawal. Prominent officers of the Department and many native gentlemen argued strongly against any withdrawal, on the ground that it must practically hand over higher education to missionaries. As a rule the missionary witnesses themselves, while generally advocating the policy of withdrawal, expressed quite the contrary opinion, stating that they neither expected nor desired that any power over education given up by the Department should pass into their hands. In a country with such varied needs as India, we should deprecate any measure which would throw excessive influence over higher education into the hands of any single agency; and particularly into the hands of an agency which, however benevolent and earnest, cannot on all points be in sympathy with the mass of the community. . . . At the same time we think it well to put on record our unanimous opinion that withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies and that departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary manage-

ment. . . . In the point of view in which we are at present considering the question, missionary institutions hold an intermediate position between those managed by the Department and those managed by the people for themselves. On the one hand, they are the outcome of private effort, but on the other they are not strictly local; nor will encouragement to them directly foster those habits of self-reliance and combination for purposes of public utility which it is one of the objects of the grant-in-aid system to develop. Missionary institutions may serve the great purpose of showing what private effort can accomplish, and thus of inducing other agencies to come forward. They should be allowed to follow their own independent course under the general supervision of the State; and so long as there are room and need for every variety of agency in the field of education, they should receive all the encouragement and aid that private effort can legitimately claim. But it must not be forgotten that the private effort which it is mainly intended to evoke is that of the people themselves. Natives of India must constitute the most important of all agencies if educational means are ever to be co-extensive with educational wants. Other agencies may hold a prominent place for a time, and may always find some place in a system in which great variety is on every ground desirable. But the higher education of the country will not be on a basis that can be regarded as permanent or safe, nor will it receive the wide extension that is needed, until the larger part of it at all events is provided and managed by the people of the country for themselves."[1]

This recommendation is of very great importance because it decided, once for all, that missionary activities can only have a subordinate place in a national system of education in India. It was in this recommendation that the missionaries "caught a tartar" as the late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe put it. The Despatch of 1854 had led the missionaries to believe that they would ultimately provide for all the educational needs of the country.

[1] *Report*, pp. 452-4.

These hopes were shattered by this recommendation of the Indian Education Commission.

6. **Recommendation of the Commission regarding Religious Instruction in Schools and Colleges.** The question of religious instruction in schools and colleges was the second subject of controversy between the missionaries and the officials of the Department. On this issue also, the verdict of the Commission went largely against the missionaries. As may be easily anticipated, the missionaries emphasized the dangers of a purely secular education which destroyed the old faith of the Indian pupils without substituting a new one in its place. They insisted, therefore, on giving compulsory religious education—which meant education in Christian religion only—in all their schools and even advocated that education in Christian religion should be given in all Government educational institutions. The officials of the Educational Department, on the other hand, advocated a policy of strict religious neutrality, the imparting of a purely secular education in Government institutions, and the desirability of making religious instruction *optional* on the part of the guardians of the pupils in *all* aided schools. This view was shared by Indian thinkers also and it was ably put forward by Mr. Telang in his Minute of dissent to the report of the Commission. The question was hotly discussed in the Commission and finally the following compromise was arrived at:—

"Our attention has been drawn to an obstacle which has lessened the influence of aided education in special circumstances and localities, and which the course we shall now recommend may help for the future to remove. It is sometimes the case that the only institution of a particular class in a whole town or district is one where instruction in some definite form of religion is part of the ordinary course. In such cases it occasionally happens that many of the

inhabitants allow their children to grow up in ignorance rather than have them instructed in the tenets of a religion they object to. From our point of view, and we believe also from the point of view of the benevolent persons by whom the schools in question are maintained, it is better that children should receive secular instruction only than that they should grow up without instruction of any kind. We are, therefore, of opinion that, in the cases described, the question whether pupils are to attend the religious lessons ought to be left to the decision of their parents or guardians. We are aware that any such recommendation implies taking notice of religious instruction, and may, therefore, be held to contravene the fundamental principle of absolute religious neutrality. But exceptional circumstances may sometimes justify an exceptional line of action. In all cases where a practical option is already afforded to parents by the existence of an institution at which religious instruction does not form part of the ordinary course, the principle of abstinence from all enquiry whether religion is taught or not taught, should remain in force. And altogether apart from the principle of religious neutrality, we recognise that in ordinary circumstances it is best that all institutions under private managers should be perfectly untrammelled with regard to the instruction they impart and to the whole course of their development. But when it is found that any of the arrangements of an institution have the practical effect of retarding the spread of education, we consider it desirable to remedy the evil. In such cases it may commonly be better that those who object to the course of instruction in an existing school should set up a new school of their own, towards the establishment of which the Department should afford every encouragement. If that be done, the ground of interference with the course which the managers of the existing school may lay down will be removed. But until such a new school has been established, we are of opinion that parents should have it in their power to withdraw their children from that portion of the course in the existing school which they object to, so that the spread of education in the locality may not be practically hindered. *We therefore recommend that the system of grants-in-aid be based as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph* 53 *of the Despatch of* 1854, *on an entire abstinence from*

interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted: provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution."[1]

It may be mentioned in passing that this recommendation of the Indian Education Commission still holds the field and may be found in almost all the grant-in-aid codes of British India.

7. **Events of the Period 1882 to 1902.** Let us now turn to the events of the period 1882 to 1902 and see how far these recommendations of the Indian Education Commission were actually accepted by Government.

(*i*) Government at once accepted the recommendation of the Commission regarding the transfer of primary schools to Local Boards and Municipalities. This transfer, however, was more *nominal* than *real*; because the local bodies of those days were dominated by the official element and a good many of the powers of control and administration of primary education still continued to be exercised by Departmental Officers.

(*ii*) On the other hand, the instances of the transfer of Government institutions of secondary and collegiate education to private agencies were extremely few. Government accepted the suggestion of the Indian Education Commission, referred to in section 5 *supra*, and did not transfer its institutions to missionary bodies; but it is surprising that these institutions were not transferred to Indian managements either. In most cases, the officials of those days were apparently afraid that the efficiency of the institutions and the interests of the less advanced communities might be adversely affected by

[1] *Report*, pp. 448-9.

such transfer, and they do not, therefore, seem to have made any earnest attempt to divest the Department of the direct management of educational institutions of secondary and collegiate education.

(*iii*) Government adopted many of the recommendations of the Commission regarding the development of private institutions. The demand for education increased by leaps and bounds during this period and, as the expansion of Government institutions was limited on account of financial considerations, the only way in which this demand could be satisfied, even partially, was through private enterprise alone. Between 1882 and 1902, therefore, Government encouraged expansion and gave considerable scope for the growth of private enterprise.

(*iv*) It must be noted, however, that this policy of liberal encouragement to private enterprise did not benefit missionary schools to any large extent. For, it was during these twenty years that missionaries adopted the policy of restricting their educational activities to the maintenance of a few educational institutions in as high a state of efficiency as possible and abandoned their earlier dreams of commanding the whole educational system of India.

The reasons for this decision were several. In the first place, the prominent position which missionary enterprise occupied in Indian education in the Despatch of 1854 was whittled down considerably by the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. Secondly, the missionaries had a further disappointment when they found that the spread of English education did not lead to considerable proselytisation as expected by them. Thirdly, a new party arose among the missionaries themselves which held that it was no part of missionary enterprise to maintain schools for

non-Christian children. This is how a missionary describes the view of this party:—

"Now whether it is better, from a missionary point of view, to limit mission school education to the needs of the native Christian community, or to use the large Government grants as a lever by which the schools may be so developed as to give missionaries a commanding influence over the scholars who pass through them? Mark well! The point at issue is not whether missions should keep up sufficient schools to meet the needs of the native Christian community. That is a matter on which there has never been any serious difference of opinion. The question is, whether missions should establish elementary and secondary schools for the non-Christian youth of India in order through them to disseminate Christian knowledge amongst the heathen masses of the people. No branch of mission work has caused such heated debate as this of schools for heathen children. At the decennial Missionary Conferences at Allahabad in 1872, at Calcutta in 1882, at Bombay in 1892, and at the South India Conference at Bangalore in 1879, it invariably led to animated and often to elaborate discussion. It was of special moment that the great Missionary Secretary of the American Board, Rufus Anderson, and his entire Society, and along with them the English Baptist Missionary Society, should cast their entire weight into the balance against the maintenance of an extensive system of schools for heathen children. What arguments did these opponents advance? "School teaching is not missionary work." "It is no duty of the home churches at their own cost to spread higher education among any people whatsoever, save in so far as their immediate *raison d'etre,* the propagation of the gospel, is advanced thereby." Missions have neither a call nor a mandate to teach English literature, history, mathematics, or natural science. The preaching of the gospel to the heathen and the exercise of pastoral care over the native churches is so clearly the head and front of all missionary labour that everything must be considered as pure 'alien stuff' which does not directly further this end. Any union between the State and Missions can only be to the detriment of the latter; it is used by the stronger partner, the State, simply as an auxiliary to the attainment of its own ends, some of which are alien to the objects of missions, and

some of which are indeed antagonistic to those objects. The inspection of mission schools by heathen inspectors, the introduction of text-books utterly incompatible with the standpoint of missions, the regulations with regard to the teaching staff, school buildings, the school inventory, school hours, etc., place missions at the mercy of the caprice of their opponents. Besides, the whole thing is like a screw with an endless worm; at one time an order will be issued making all religious instruction optional, and only to be given out of ordinary school hours (Educational Despatch, 1885, in the North-Western Provinces, withdrawn after pressure from missionary circles); at another, it will be decreed that all the subjects that are under Government inspection must be taught during the first five hours of every day, whilst religious teaching must, if at all, be taken during a sixth hour, when all the strength and power of attention on the part of the children is exhausted (Travancore, 1902). It is a delusion and a snare, in an educational system the whole efforts of which are directed towards examination drill and towards the acquirement by the scholars of a parrot-like facility in chattering English, for missionaries to hope to accomplish anything of value in imparting Christian knowledge—a subject that is of no use in the examination. The scholars tolerate the period set apart for Christian religious teaching, often unwillingly making the best of it as a kind of bad bargain because they have a better chance of passing the State examinations in a mission school, or because the fees of the mission school are lower than those of the competing Government establishment. But it is unworthy of missions to use good teaching in secular subjects for an examination as a decoy by which to entice, for purposes of religious instruction, that portion of the youth of the country which hungers after knowledge. And the results of mission schools, as regards the number of baptisms, bear no sort of comparison with the means and strength employed; many mission schools are unable to record one case of baptism in an entire decade. And further, what could this elite of highly trained missionaries, who alone can be employed in educational mission work, in that case accomplish along the lines of direct missionary work? Precisely the most gifted amongst them are confined to close and stuffy school-rooms, and both intellectually and spiritually are

becoming atrophied under the mechanical school grind, whilst away outside, far across the thickly populated tracts of land, millions are dying without having once heard the good tidings of great joy!"[1]

Of course, a number of strong arguments were also urged on the other side. It was admitted that the number of conversions through English schools and colleges was extremely small. But it was asserted that this comparatively small number of converts was "the very crown and rejoicing of Indian missions, the most brilliant representatives and pillars of the Indian church, the leading spirits in the ever-increasing body of Indian Christians . . . the officers of the main army which is composed of members belonging to the lower orders of the society."[2] It was also urged that missionaries held an important place in the world of Indian education and that they ought not to lose it; that the teachings of Christ were spreading largely among the educated Indians although only a few of them became the direct adherents of the Christian religion; that it was a duty of the missionaries to satisfy the growing Indian demand for knowledge; and that the mission schools were the only means by which the gospel could be preached to the upper and influential classes of society.

The sum total of all these discussions was the conclusion that missionaries should rest content with the maintenance of a few efficient schools and colleges and should refrain, as far as possible, from any large scale expansion of their educational activities. This policy was adopted soon after 1882, and the missionaries have since directed their efforts to such fields as have not yet attracted Indian workers, viz. the improvement of Aboriginals, Hill Tribes, and other backward communities.

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 313-5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

(*v*) It, therefore, goes without saying that Indian private enterprise grew very considerably in the twenty years between 1882 and 1902, so that by the latter year, the secondary schools and colleges conducted by Indians came to occupy the first and foremost place in Indian education. In 1854, private enterprise meant missionary enterprise. But as early as 1882, the position was considerably changed and Indians occupied a fairly important position as the following statistics for 1881-2 will show :—

Institutions	Conducted by Indian Managers	Conducted by other than Indian Managers
Arts Colleges	5	18
Secondary Schools	1,341	757
Primary Schools	54,662	1,842
Professional Colleges and Schools ...	10	18
Total ...	56,018	2,635

It will be seen that, even in 1882, it was only in the field of higher education that the missionaries had a lead over Indian enterprise. During the next two decades, however, Indian private enterprise increased so rapidly that in 1901-02, the Colleges under Indian management numbered 42 as against 37 under missionary management,[1] and the large bulk of the private secondary schools came to be controlled by Indians themselves.

The motives that led to this expansion of Indian private enterprise were mainly patriotic. By about 1880, there was a wave of social, religious, and political reforms in India—a veritable beginning of a renaissance in Indian national life. The leaders of this movement were inspired

[1] Figures for British India and some Indian States (exclusive of Burma).

by a faith in the ideal of building up a great nation in India and their ultimate objects were social and political. But they realised that a new nation after their heart's desire could not be built up unless the education of the country's youth came to be controlled and managed by Indians themselves. Hence it was that a movement for establishing schools and colleges started about this time in all provinces—a movement which finds a brilliant expression in such institutions as the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and the Deccan Education Society of Poona.

At first, the efforts of Indians were restricted to the collection of funds and even the colleges under Indian management generally had European principals. It was necessary to do so because, in those days, Indians were not considered fit to become principals of colleges or even headmasters of high schools. This prejudice, however unfair it may appear today, had some justification in those early years: firstly, Indians versed in "European Knowledge and Science"—which was *the* object of the educational system—were not available. Secondly, the idea that English should be taught, or can only be taught properly, by one whose mother-tongue is English was firmly rooted at this time; and, as the teaching of English was the most important part of education, the employment of Europeans, even in schools and colleges under Indian management, became inevitable on grounds of efficiency.

It is hardly necessary to say that Indian private enterprise could not have thrived much so long as it was compelled to depend upon European headmasters and principals who were not necessarily inspired by the same ideals as the Indians. Secondly, a rapid extension of education and the reduction of its cost to a figure which was within

the means of the average Indian were also impossible so long as costly Europeans continued to be entertained. What the situation demanded was a sacrifice on the part of educated Indians of undoubted ability. To such men, a lucrative post under Government was available for the mere asking. But the interests of the nation's education required them "to scorn delights and live laborious days," to turn their back on Government service and voluntarily decide to live on a pittance in private institutions. It was a great demand and it is a golden event in the history of Indian education that educated Indians should have risen to the occasion and made the sacrifices demanded. When persons like Mr. (now Sir) R. P. Paranjpe—a senior wrangler of the Cambridge University—began to work as principals of private colleges, the stamp of inferiority that was attached to Indian private enterprise vanished at once, the spread of education became rapid, and its cost was considerably reduced.

Too much tribute cannot be paid to the workers in the cause of Indian education in the years between 1882 and 1902. It was these nameless sons of Mother India that satisfied as well as created the public demand for more education that grew up at this time and thereby laid the foundation of the modern national life in India.

8. **Events of the Period 1902 to 1921.** Early in the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a change in the policy of Government. A great movement for educational reform began in England towards the close of the nineteenth century, and it was quite natural that the effects of this trend in English education should be seen in Indian Educational policy also. The Indian Education Departments now began to put "efficiency" first and "expansion" next. They argued that the policy of *laissez faire* with regard to private enterprise which

Government had pursued since 1882 had done more harm than good and that a time had now come when Government ought to exercise a strict control over private institutions. On the other hand, Indian opinion felt that expansion, and not efficiency, ought to be put first in Government educational policy. It pointed out that England was justified in talking of efficiency *because her programme of expansion was complete.* But in India, the programme of expansion had just begun; and the country stood at that stage of educational development where England was in 1840. It was, therefore, argued that *India should concentrate on expansion* rather than on efficiency, just as England had done fifty years ago. Thus arose the struggle between "quality" and "quantity"—a struggle which continues even today. It was first fought at the collegiate stage on the occasion of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. Then it came down to the secondary stage during the years 1905 to 1908. Finally it was fought in the field of primary education over Gokhale's bill for the permissive introduction of compulsory education (1911-12). These developments will, however, be dealt with in the following Chapters.

It will suffice for our purpose to note here the main features of Government educational policy during the twenty years between 1901 and 1921. These may be summarised as under:—

(*i*) The idea that Government should withdraw from direct educational enterprise was definitely abandoned, and its place was taken up by a new theory that Government should maintain a number of institutions, in as efficient a condition as possible, as "models" to private effort.

(*ii*) The policy of giving full freedom to private enterprise was also abandoned, the pendulum swung to

the other extreme and Government decided to control private enterprise as much as possible. This policy is clearly stated in the following words of the Government Resolution on educational policy dated the 21st February, 1913 :—

"The policy of Government is to rely so far as possible on private enterprise in secondary education. This policy, laid down in the Despatch of 1854, was restated and amplified by the Education Commission of 1882, which, while doubtful as to how far the process of withdrawal on the part of Government should be carried out, agreed that whatever degree of withdrawal from the direct provision of education might be found advisable, there should be no relaxation of indirect but efficient control by the State. The admixture of private management and State control was again emphasised in the resolution of 1904. To this policy the Government of India adhere. It is dictated not by any belief in the inherent superiority of private over state management, but by preference for an established system and, above all, by the necessity of concentrating the direct energies of the state and the bulk of its available resources upon the improvement and expansion of elementary education. The policy may be summarised as the encouragement of privately-managed schools under suitable bodies maintained in efficiency by Government inspection, recognition and control, and by the aid of Government funds."

(*iii*) The years between 1901 and 1921 were generally "boom" years and there was a very substantial rise in the revenues of Government. A part of this increase was naturally devoted to educational advance and improvement, and Government expenditure on education increased from Rs. 103 lakhs in 1901-02 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1921-22.[1]

(*iv*) A large part of this increase was devoted to the improvement of a few Government "model" institutions—an item of expenditure which was, in a way,

[1] Figures include Burma.

the first charge on Government funds, and a comparatively smaller part only was assigned for the development of private enterprise.

It is remarkable, however, that in spite of the adoption of such a policy by Government, private Indian enterprise grew enormously between 1901 and 1921. This growth was mainly due to the great political awakening that took place in India during these twenty years. The three-fold barriers of "inspection, recognition and control" by Government served merely to raise the quality of private institutions but could not check their rapid expansion to any appreciable extent; and in 1921-22, Indian private enterprise dominated the whole field of educational activity in India.

The following statistics of 1921-22 will show the comparative position of Government and private effort on one hand and of Indian and missionary effort on the other:—

TABLE I

Management	Number of Institutions	Number of Scholars
1. Government	2,946	2,56,998
2. Board	53,188	30,72,412
3. Aided	93,629	35,01,766
4. Unaided	16,357	5,65,384
5. Unrecognised	16,322	4,22,165
Total ...	1,82,442	78,18,725

N.B.—Figures for British India only exclusive of Burma.

TABLE II

Management of the Institution	Direct expenditure from Government funds on......
	(Figures in lakhs) Rs.
Government	2,86
Boards	2,61
Private Bodies	1,91
Total ...	7,38
Add Indirect expenditure on Grants to Universities, inspection, scholarships, etc.	1,64
Grand Total ...	9,02

N.B.—Figures for British India only inclusive of Burma.

It will be seen from the above figures—

(*i*) that recognised institutions conducted by private bodies educated about 50 per cent of the pupils under instruction while Government institutions educated only about 3 per cent of the total number of pupils, and

(*ii*) that Government institutions swallowed up 31 per cent of the total expenditure from Government funds while the recognised institutions conducted by private bodies got only 20 per cent of the total Government expenditure. Of course, these figures have to be taken with some caution. For instance, in some of the Government institutions such as professional colleges, the cost per pupil was necessarily high. But even after making due allowance for all such factors, it is clear that private enterprise did not obtain that share of Government funds to which it was entitled on the strength of numbers.

The following statistics will give an idea of the educational activities of the missionaries in 1921-22:—

Institutions maintained by Missionaries

	Institutions	Scholars
Colleges	41	11,576
High Schools	289	86,058
Middle Schools: English	320	39,428
" " : Vernacular	79	8,569
Primary Schools	10,476	4,06,863
Training Institutions	92	3,550
Other "	129	5,821
Total ...	11,426	5,61,865
Total of all aided Institutions	93,629	35,01,766

N.B.—Figures for Burma and those for Indian States are excluded.

Two comments are needed on these figures. Firstly, it will be observed that missionary enterprise formed but a small part of the total private enterprise in education—about 12 per cent in the number of institutions and 17 per cent in the number of scholars. Secondly, the large number of training institutions maintained by missionaries also deserves notice. As Richter observes:—

"The development of educational missions has entailed, as a necessary consequence, the creation of a new class of missionary helpers, viz. Christian teachers, possessed of special qualifications and training. Down to the year 1854, missionaries in India . . . were disposed . . . to train but one class of native assistants and to select the most brilliant and the most trustworthy of these for ordination. Then the Government intervened and insisted upon having trained teachers in all grant-aided schools, whilst for the higher demands of the middle and high schools only such as had taken special qualifying studies were selected. From the very beginning missionaries had frequently employed non-Christians as teachers, particularly in schools that were largely or entirely attended by heathen

children, but on the whole they had no reason to be satisfied with the experiment. When the schools were taken over by the Government, many non-Christian teachers had at first, unfortunately, to be appointed because Christian teachers of the requisite experience and skill were not to be found. To remove this disadvantage, nearly all the societies founded training colleges, whether in connection with the teachers' courses instituted by the Government or entirely independent therefrom."[1]

We shall now turn to a detailed narrative of the chief educational events of the period from 1854 to 1921. This can be most conveniently done under the heads of University Education (Chapters X to XII), Secondary Education (Chapters XIII and XIV) and Primary Education (Chapters XV to XVII).

[1] Richter: *A History of Missions in India*, p. 321.

CHAPTER X

ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF UNIVERSITIES[1]

(1854-1902)

1. **Collegiate Education prior to 1857.** As we have seen in an earlier part of this book, colleges had been in existence in India for several years before the establishment of the universities in 1857. The earliest colleges such as the Calcutta Madrassa or the Benares Sanskrit College were opened by Government and were generally modelled on the ancient educational institutions of the Muslims and Hindus. Colleges imparting instruction in Western knowledge were first established by missionaries. Government soon followed their example and began to establish colleges of modern type, especially after the controversy between the Anglicists and the Classicists had come to an end. The only college organised by Indians during this period was, as we have already seen, the Hindu Vidyalaya of Calcutta, sponsored by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. This was, however, merged later in the Presidency College established in 1855 by Lord Dalhousie, and hence in 1857, there was not a single college managed by Indians themselves. It must be pointed out, however, that Indians had given munificent donations for establishment of colleges—notably in connection with the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay, and the colleges at Agra and Delhi.

[1] This Chapter and the next two deal with all the Indian Universities, whether incorporated in British India or in Indian States.

An idea of the colleges working in 1857 may be had from the following statistics :—

—	Colleges of General Learning	Colleges of Medicine	Colleges of Engineering (Civil)
Bengal			
Conducted by Government ...	7	1	...
„ „ Missionaries ...	7	...	...
Total ...	14	1	...
Bombay			
Conducted by Government ...	2	1	...
„ „ Missionaries ...	...	...	...
Total ...	2	1	...
North-Western Province			
Conducted by Government ...	4	...	1
„ „ Missionaries ...	...	...	...
Total ...	4	...	1
Madras			
Conducted by Government ...	1	1	...
„ „ Missionaries ...	2	...	...
Total ...	3	1	...
Grand Total for the whole of India ...	23	3	1

It must be remembered that these early institutions for imparting higher education were quite different from the colleges of today. Many of the colleges grew out of schools teaching English and contained classes " in which the alphabet was taught under the same roof with classes reading Shakespeare, the Calculus, Smith's Wealth of Nations, and the Ramayana ".[1] The word ' college ' seems then to have been used rather loosely

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 18.

to denote 'an institution where a high type of instruction is given.'

2. **Establishment of Universities, 1857.** Colleges in the modern sense of the word may be said to have started to function after 1857 when the universities came to be established. Henceforward, they could only admit such students as had passed the entrance examination held by the universities to which they were affiliated and impart instruction according to such courses only as had been prescribed by the universities. In short, colleges now became an integral part of the universities themselves and provided instruction in higher branches of learning on their behalf.

Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of the Court of Directors dated 19th July 1854, the Government of India took up the work of organising universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The preliminary spade work was considerably heavy and naturally took some time;[1] but as early as 1857, the Government of India passed Acts of Incorporation of all the three Universities. Except for a few changes of a local nature, the three Acts are identical and it is enough to study one of them in order to understand the constitution of the Universities established thereby.

3. **The Constitution of the Bombay University as outlined by Act XXII of 1857.** The preamble of the Act states the object of the University in the following words:—

"Whereas, for the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects of all classes and denominations within the Presidency of Bombay and other parts of India in the pursuit of a regular and a liberal course of education, it has been determined to

[1] The interested student is referred to the *Papers relating to the Establishment of Universities in India*, 1856, for details.

establish a University at Bombay for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees as evidence of their respective attainments, and marks of honour proportioned thereunto; and whereas, for effectuating the purposes as aforesaid, it is expedient that such a University should be incorporated: it is enacted etc. etc. . . ."

The Act then nominated the first Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, who together constituted the Body corporate of the University of Bombay. The number of Fellows excluding the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor was to be *not less* than twenty-six; Fellows were of two classes: *Ex-officio* Fellows who included the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, the Bishop of Bombay, Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, the Educational Inspector of the Presidency Division, and the Principals of all Government Colleges; the other Fellows were called *Ordinary* Fellows and were *appointed by Government for life,* vacancies in their ranks being only caused by death, resignation, departure from India without the intention of returning thereto, or by cancellation of appointment by Government.

The Senate of the University consisted of the Chancellor (who was always the Governor of Bombay), the Vice-Chancellor (whose appointment was made by the Governor-in-Council for a period of two years at a time) and the Fellows both *ex-officio* and ordinary. The Senate was empowered by the Act—

(*a*) to have the entire management of and superintendence over the affairs, concerns, and property of the University;

(*b*) to make and alter any bye-laws or regulations

regarding "the examination for degrees and the granting of the same; and touching the examination for honours and granting of marks of honour for a higher proficiency in the different branches of Literature, Science and Art; and touching the qualifications of the candidates for degrees, and the previous course of instruction to be followed by them; and touching the mode and time of convening the meetings of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows; and, in general, touching all other matters whatever regarding the said University." All such bye-laws and regulations required the previous approval of the Governor-in-Council;

(*c*) to hold examinations, charge fees for the same and to confer degrees;

(*d*) to appoint or remove all examiners, officers and servants of the University; and

(*e*) generally to act in such manner as shall appear to it to be necessary to promote the purpose intended by the University.

The Act also prescribed the conditions for admission to the University degrees. It said:—

> "Except by special order of the Senate, no person shall be admitted as a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, Licentiate of Medicine, Doctor of Medicine, or Master of Civil Engineering, unless he shall present to the said Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows a certificate from one of the Institutions authorized on that behalf by the Governor of Bombay in Council, to the effect that he has completed the course of instruction prescribed by the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows of the said University, in the bye-laws to be made by them under the power in that behalf given by this Act."

This, in brief, is the Bombay University Act of 1857. The contents of the Acts for the Universities of Calcutta and Madras are exactly similar, except for

changes in the numbers and names of the first Fellows.

4. **Criticism of the University Acts of 1857.** There is little to comment on in these Acts; but it may be helpful for a proper understanding of the subject to call special attention to the following features of the scheme:—

(*a*) There was no upper limit to the number of the Fellows. The inevitable consequence was that the Senates grew unwieldy, especially as the Fellows were to be appointed for life and not for a specific period.

(*b*) In the Universities, it is customary to have a small executive body called the Syndicate and to entrust it with the details of the day-to-day administration. But it is significant that the Act makes no mention of the Syndicate and gives all powers to the Senate only. In practice, however, Syndicates came to be established in virtue of the regulations framed by the Senates and they were also entrusted with certain powers. The point to be noted is that the Syndicate received no statutory recognition in the Acts of Incorporation.

(*c*) The preamble limited the functions of the Universities to the holding of examinations and the granting of degrees only. This was no doubt in keeping with the constitution of the London University as it was in 1857 but it did not carry out, in full, the intentions of the Despatch of 1854 with regard to the functions of the proposed Universities. It is true that, according to the Despatch, Indian Universities were "not so much to be in themselves places of instruction" as agencies "to test the value of the education

obtained elsewhere,"[1] but the Despatch had also pointed out that it would be "advisable to institute, in connection with the Universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India,"[2] such as Law, Civil Engineering, the classical as well as modern languages of India, etc. One cannot help feeling here that the framers of the Indian Universities' Acts of 1857 took a very narrow view of the Despatch of 1854.

(*d*) The type of the University organization that was created by the Acts of 1857 is known technically as the "Affiliating University." In this form of organization, the affiliated colleges are the real centres of learning and the University itself is not a unit of teaching but a mere unit of administration whose sole duty is to hold examinations and confer degrees. This form of a University had undoubtedly certain *immediate* advantages in the conditions of India as they were in 1857, but it was harmful to national interests in the long run. This aspect of the problem has been very ably dealt with by the Calcutta University Commission in the following words:—

"The establishment of the University did not in itself involve any increase in the teaching resources of the province, or in the opportunities of study available for students; but only the institution of a series of administrative bodies for the definition of curricula and the conduct of examinations, and by these means, for the regulation and supervision of the work

[1] *Wood's Education Despatch*, para 36.
[2] *Ibid.*, paras 30-32.

of the colleges, to which the function of teaching was wholly reserved. . . .

Ever since 1857 what is known as the 'affiliating' type of university has been the dominating factor in the educational development of India. The most distinctive feature of the system is that it makes the University primarily an examining and regulating body, not a teaching body. And since one of the primary duties of a university of this type is to make regulations, these tend to become extremely elaborate, and the freedom of the teacher tends to be proportionately restricted.

As a mode of organization for higher education such a system is open to many criticisms. In its earlier form, down to 1904, it rested upon the assumptions that a University might have as its primary functions the conduct of examinations and the definition of their subject-matter; that by means of examinations and regulations alone the continued efficiency of teaching institutions could be adequately guaranteed; and that the duty of training men for life could safely be left to self-contained colleges organised primarily with a view to the preparation of candidates for an examination. But even within the formal limits of degree subjects, teaching is so individual a business that it depends in a high degree upon the personality of the teacher, and for that reason the teacher ought to have great freedom, if he is to do justice to the varying needs of the pupils. In so far as he is denied this freedom, his sense of responsibility for the advancement of his students is apt to be weakened.

The traditional idea of a University, which has survived the test of centuries, is something far different from this. According to the accepted view of almost all progressive societies, a University ought to be a place of learning, where a corporation of scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. On this definition the Indian universities, in their first form, were no true universities. They were not corporations of scholars, but corporations of administrators; they had nothing to do directly with the training of men, but only with the examining of candidates; they were not concerned with learning, except in so far as learning can be tested by examinations. The colleges were the only 'places of learning', and the system

tended to weaken the responsibility of the stronger colleges and, under the conditions prevailing in India, to reduce them to coaching institutions. The University being merely a group of administrative boards, had no direct contact with the real work of teaching; it could contribute nothing to strengthen the intellectual resources of the colleges, and little to stimulate free criticism and independent thought among teachers or students. With its uniform curricula, and its exaggerated emphasis upon examinations, the system reduced the colleges too much to the same pattern. It encouraged them, for the sake of economy, to limit their teaching to the ordinary conventional subjects, and to disregard those more practical issues to which the Despatch of 1854 had attached so much importance; it often prevented the teacher within his subject from teaching the things he cared most about and understood best; it led the student to value the discipline of his training not for its own sake, but mainly as a means for obtaining marketable qualifications. In the long run such a system must have a sterilising influence.

Yet it must be recognised that the system afforded the easiest solution of the problem as it presented itself in 1857, and perhaps met the immediate need better than any other system could have done. Few of the colleges were yet ripe for that freedom of teaching which we have learnt to regard as the essence of university work. Clearly defined standards of attainments were needed, and a system of examinations can give these, even if in a rather mechanical way. The Indian universities were founded in the Mutiny year; and it was not to be expected, in the political and financial circumstances of that time, that Government should undertake any large and ambitious programme involving great expenditure. The new system gave to Government an impartial means of picking out young Indians of ability for the public service. It made use of all the institutions of various types which had grown up during the previous forty years, and gave them a real stimulus and guidance."[1]

It is a matter for regret that the ultimate disadvantages of the system were ignored in view of its immediate

[1] *Report of the Calcutta University Commission,* Vol. I, Chapter III, paras 30-37.

advantages and that it was decided to follow the line of least resistance in preference to a programme of intelligent planning in national interest. The decision looks almost tragic if one remembers that the London University itself was remodelled in 1858 and gave up the affiliating type as unsatisfactory! Perhaps, it would have contributed more to the welfare of the nation had the University Acts been passed in 1859 instead of in 1857.

5. **Growth of Collegiate Education between 1857 and 1882.** The development of colleges was fairly rapid during the twenty-five years between the establishment of the universities and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission. This was partly due to the rapid development of secondary education and partly to the liberal encouragement given by Government. At the first matriculation examinations of the universities, only 219 candidates were declared to have passed.[1] But in 1881-82, as many as 7,429 pupils appeared for the matriculation examination from British India only and 2,778 of these were declared to have passed. In those days a very large number of the candidates who passed the matriculation sought admission to universities, mainly owing to the material advantages that were then attainable by holders of university degrees. Consequently, the number of colleges as well as their attendance increased considerably between 1857 and 1882. The following statistics[2] of the latter year may be contrasted with those of 1857 given in the earlier section:—

[1] Calcutta University 162 (in 1857); Bombay University 21 (in 1859); and Madras University 36 (in 1857).

[2] These statistics are taken from p. 274 and p. 292 of the *Report of the Indian Education Commission.* They do not include colleges of professional education which were excluded from the purview of the Commission.

Province	Conducted by Government	Aided	Unaided	Total
Bengal				
English	12	5	4	21
Oriental	6	...	...	6
Bombay				
English	3	2	1	6
Oriental	...	...	...	...
Madras				
English	10	11	3	24
Oriental	1	...	...	1
North-Western Province				
English	3	2	3	8
Oriental	1	2	...	3
The Punjab				
English	1	...	...	1
Oriental	...	1	...	1
Central Provinces				
English	1	...	...	1
Total ...	38	23	11	72

Besides these, there was a college at Ajmer sending up students for the First Year Examination in Arts of the Calcutta University, and several colleges in Indian States.

Of the new colleges that sprang up during this period, three deserve special notice. The first is the Canning College, Lucknow, which was established in 1864 by the Talukdars of the Province in gratitude to the good treatment they received from Lord Canning, the then Governor-General of India, after the incidents of 1857. The cost of the college was mostly met from a tax of one-half per cent on land revenue which the Taluk-

dars agreed to pay and an equivalent grant from Government. The College had two branches in 1882—the English branch which was affiliated to the Calcutta University and the Oriental Branch which was affiliated to the Punjab University. This college was the beginning of the Lucknow University of to-day.

The second college that deserves special notice is the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College which was established at Aligarh in 1875 mainly owing to the efforts of Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan. "The original object of some of the supporters of the Committee," wrote Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan in 1881,

> "was to confine the College to the Muhammadans for whose special benefit educational facilities were to be provided. But so much goodwill, sympathy, and generosity were displayed by the Hindu nobility and gentry, that the Committee in establishing the College declared it open to Hindu students also, especially as the curriculum (beyond religious instruction) pursued in the College suited Hindus and Muhammadans alike, and the former showed a readiness to join the College. In the matter of scholarships, prizes and other College rewards, the rules of the College show no partiality to either Hindus or Muhammadans, whilst the Committee has provided separate boarding-houses for Hindu students." [1]

In 1881-82, the College had 171 students in residence of whom 16 were Hindus. This college developed later into the Muslim University at Aligarh..

The third important college that deserves special notice is the Oriental College at Lahore which was first established by Government in 1870 and later transferred to the Punjab University. The essential point in which it differed from other Oriental and English colleges was that, while cultivating the study of oriental languages, it also gave instruction in higher European

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, pp. 266-7.

knowledge and Science through the medium of modern Indian languages. For this purpose, Urdu and Hindi translations of European works were published in such subjects as algebra, Euclid, trigonometry, the elements of statics, history (ancient and modern), geography, psychology, political economy, chemistry, physics, descriptive astronomy, hydrostatics, dynamics, logic (deductive and inductive), etc. Although the idea of establishing an Urdu University for the Punjab never materialised, this college may be taken as the forerunner of the Osmania University.

An important feature of this period that deserves notice is the entry of Indian private enterprise into the field of the direct management of collegiate institutions. Even in 1881-82, Indians conducted 5 aided colleges—two in the North-Western Provinces, and three in Madras. The two colleges in the North-Western Province were the Canning College, Lucknow, and the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, which have been just referred to. The three colleges in Madras were the Pachaiyappa's College and the Hindu Colleges at Vizagapatam and Tinnevelly. The Pachaiyappa's College arose out of a school established in 1842 from the funds derived from a bequest for pious uses made by Pachaiyappa, a wealthy Hindu gentleman; the Vizagapatam College was established as a school in 1857 by His Highness the Maharaja of Vizianagram; and the Tinnevelly College was established in 1861. It should be remembered, however, that the principals of these colleges were generally Europeans and that Indians were then considered unfit to become the Principals of first-class colleges.

6. **Recommendations of the Indian Education Com-**

mission. The report of the Indian Education Commission is an important land-mark in the history of Indian education. But it did little to improve University education. The Government Resolution appointing the Commission observed that it would "not be necessary for the Commission to enquire into the general working of the Indian Universities, which are controlled by corporations comprising representatives of all classes interested in collegiate education" and that a fair estimate of the results of their operation could always be formed independently of any special inquiry. The Commission was also precluded from studying professional colleges because that "would expand unduly" the task before it. The Commission could not, therefore, study the problem of collegiate education in a comprehensive manner and hence its recommendations on this subject are not so important as those on secondary or primary education.

The following are the main recommendations of the Indian Education Commission on the subject of collegiate education :—

(*a*) That the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality.

(*b*) That provision be made for special grants to aided colleges, whenever necessary, for the supply and renewal of buildings, furniture, libraries and other apparatus of instruction.

(*c*) That Indian graduates, especially those who have also graduated in European universities, be more largely employed than they have hitherto been in the colleges maintained by Government.

(*d*) That in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable, in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the universities.

(*e*) That an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.

(*f*) That the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college deliver to each of the college classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen.

(*g*) That while it is desirable to affirm the principle that fees at the highest rate consistent with the undiminished spread of education should be levied in every college aided by the state, no aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government college.

(*h*) That no college, Government or aided, be allowed to receive more than a certain proportion of free students; the proportion to be fixed by the Department, in communication, where necessary, with the managers.

(*i*) That the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of establishing scholarships for distinguished graduates to enable them to proceed to Europe for the purpose of practically studying some branch of mechanical industry.

The first recommendation marked the discontinuance of the system of payment by results in so far as grants to colleges were concerned. This system of grant-in-aid was applicable to colleges in the Province of Bombay only and with the acceptance of this recommendation by the Bombay Government the system disappeared from the collegiate stage by about 1886-87. On the other recommendations of the Commission, the following passage from the report of the Calcutta University Commission forms a good commentary:—

"But they could not discuss this question (i.e. of collegiate education) fully, or make recommendations on it, because this would have been to invade the province of the university. They could not discuss the relation of collegiate courses of study to the practical needs of the students and of the community. They could not discuss the value or appropriateness

of these courses of study in themselves. They collected a great mass of statistics about colleges and their work. They spoke with a lukewarm enthusiasm about the effects of the system upon the students. They made certain proposals designed to remedy the defects which they perceived; they urged, for example, that a 'moral text-book' should be compiled, and that the principal or one of the professors in every college should deliver to every class a course of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen. They commended the benefits of properly organised residential facilities, but made no suggestions for their expansion. But although they fixed their hopes upon the 'system of instruction becoming more thorough and more scientific', they had no measures to recommend whereby it could be made so; for that would have been to trench upon the sphere of the university."[1]

7. **Growth of Colleges between 1882 and 1902.** The recommendations of the Commission regarding collegiate education itself were not, therefore, of great importance. But its recommendations on other matters reacted indirectly on the development of collegiate education in two ways:—

(*i*) Firstly, the recommendations led, as shown in Chapter XIII, to a great expansion of secondary education. But as there was no provision of varied courses at the upper secondary stage, most of the pupils in secondary schools prepared themselves for the Matriculation examination. Moreover, a very large percentage of those who passed the Matriculation joined the colleges partly owing to the fact that the more lucrative posts under Government were open only to holders of University degrees, and partly from a lack of alternative openings. Consequently, the number of students seeking admission to colleges increased very largely year after year.

(*ii*) Secondly, the recommendations of the Commission created a background in which Indian private

[1] *Report*, Vol. I, p. 59.

enterprise could thrive. As we have seen, missionary institutions dominated the private effort in collegiate education in 1882. But the situation began to alter after the report of the Commission. Missionary institutions made only a slight progress; and new institutions managed by Indians came into the field in large numbers. Even in 1901-02, Arts colleges in British India conducted by Indians numbered 42 as against 37 conducted by Missions.

It is hardly a matter of surprise, therefore, if this period witnessed a very rapid increase in the number of colleges of general education. In 1882, the total number of colleges affiliated to Indian universities was 68 only—49 of the first grade and 19 of the second. In the next decade, 1882-1891, sixty-one new colleges were affiliated, 30 of the first grade and 31 of the second. In the decade 1892-1902, fifty more colleges were affiliated, 10 of the first grade and 40 of the second grade. In 1901-02, therefore, the total number of Arts colleges affiliated to Indian universities was 179 of which 136 were in British India, 32 in Indian States, 9 in Ceylon and 2 in Burma. These 179 colleges were distributed as under:—

University	*Colleges*
1. Calcutta	20 in Calcutta City.
	26 in the Province of Bengal.
	4 in the United Provinces.
	3 in the Central Provinces.
	2 in Burma.
	9 in Ceylon.
	1 in Rajputana.
	4 in Central India; and
	2 in Assam.
Total	71 (These include 6 Colleges also affiliated to the Allahabad University.)

University	*Colleges*
2. Madras	10 in Madras City. 32 in Madras Province. 5 in Travancore State. 4 in Mysore State 2 in Hyderabad State. 1 in Pudukottai State; and 1 in Cochin State.
Total	55
3. Bombay	3 in Bombay City. 2 at Poona. 1 at Ahmedabad. 1 in Sind. 4 in Indian States (one each in Kolhapur, Baroda, Bhavnagar and Junagadh.)
Total	11
4. Punjab	5 at Lahore. 4 in the Punjab Province. 2 at Delhi. 1 at Peshawar. 3 in Indian States (one each in Patiala, Bhawalpur and Kapurthala.)
Total	16
5. Allahabad	3 at Allahabad. 4 at Lucknow. 3 at Agra. 16 in the United Provinces. 3 in Rajputana. 2 in Central India. 1 in Central Provinces.
Total	32

Of the 136 colleges in British India, 11 were meant primarily for the education of Europeans and 12 for the education of women. The remaining 115 were managed as under:—

23 by Government.
6 by Committees of semi-official character.
5 by Municipalities.
37 by Missions; and
42 by Indians.

Total 113

8. Growth of Universities between 1857 and 1902. Let us now turn to the growth of universities between 1857 and 1902. The Acts of Incorporation of the Universities recited by name the degrees which the University might confer. It was afterwards found desirable to add others to the list and hence in 1860 the Indian Universities (Degrees) Act was passed empowering the Universities to confer such diplomas or degrees or licences as had been or might be approved by the bye-laws or regulations. In 1884, the Indian Universities (Honorary Degrees) Act was passed which empowered the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to confer the Honorary Degree of LL.D.

In 1882, the Punjab University was established by a special Act of Incorporation. The general framework of this Act was similar to the Acts of 1857; but the Punjab University differed from the older universities in several important matters. These have been mentioned in the following words in the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902:—

"(1) It has a Faculty of Oriental Learning, and confers the degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor of Oriental Learning on candidates who have gone through a course of training analogous to that prescribed for the examinations for the degrees in Arts, but through the medium not of English but of Urdu.

(2) It confers oriental literary titles on successful candidates in examinations which it holds in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

(3) It conducts proficiency and high proficiency examinations in vernacular languages.

(4) It grants native titles to students of Muhammadan and Hindu law and medicine.

(5) It conducts various school examinations.

(6) It maintains an Oriental College and a Law College, and it may maintain 'such other schools and colleges as the Senate may from time to time direct.'

(7) The Senate advises on educational matters generally." [1]

In 1887, another special Act of Incorporation established the fifth Indian University at Allahabad. The story of its establishment is best told in the words of R. Nathan :—

"The question of establishing a university for Upper India was raised as far back as 1869, and in 1870, the Government of the North-Western Provinces submitted proposals for the establishment of a central college at Allahabad as the nucleus of a university for resident under-graduates. The Government of India sanctioned the establishment of the college, but without committing itself to any opinion as to the desirability of founding a university. The Secretary of State expressed the hope that the college might hereafter be extended into a university for the United Provinces and the Punjab.

Sir William Muir, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, having invited the co-operation of the Chiefs and Feudatories, opened the Central College in a hired building on the 1st July 1872. The foundation stone of the Muir College was laid by Lord Northbrook in 1873, and the College was opened by Lord Dufferin in 1886. In the meantime the Punjab had secured a university for itself, and in 1884 the Education Commission suggested that the time had come to establish a university in the United Provinces. The suggestion was well received. It was felt that Calcutta was too far distant, and that the regulations of that university were not altogether suitable to the development of higher education in Northern India. In especial, the Calcutta curriculum was considered defective in that it took too little notice of those purely oriental studies

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, Vol. I, para 153.

which had formerly flourished in the United Provinces. It was further hoped that the establishment of a local university would stimulate educational progress. An Act was accordingly passed in the Council of the Governor-General in the year 1887 incorporating the University of Allahabad. The Local Government carefully considered the exact form the University should take, and in especial whether in addition to prescribing courses and conducting examinations it should maintain a staff of professors and even of private teachers, after the pattern of the Universities of Germany. While recognising the great value of a university of this type the Lieutenant-Governor considered that, at all events at first, the University should confine its operations to the direction of the methods and aims of instruction; adapting them to the needs, circumstances, provisions and predilections of the country, which is gradually recovering its place in the intellectual progress of India.' The Act imposes no limitations on the scope and activity of the University, but hitherto Allahabad has conformed to the practice of the three original Universities and confined itself to conferring degrees on candidates who pass its examinations after following a prescribed course of study in an institution affiliated to it."[1]

The further developments in the history of Indian universities will be dealt with in the next chapter.

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902*, Vol. I, para 154.

CHAPTER XI

ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF UNIVERSITIES—(*Contd.*)

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES ACT, 1904

WE have seen in the last chapter that there was a great rise in the number of colleges in the period of twenty years following the report of the Indian Education Commission. The utility of this expansion was largely questioned when Lord Curzon initiated the movement for educational reform at the beginning of this century. Some educationists considered that this expansion was an evil because they believed that expansion was being secured at the cost of efficiency which, to them, was more important than mere numbers. This class of thinkers consisted mostly of Government officials and missionaries whose view can best be stated in the following words of the Calcutta University Commission:

> "Indeed, their (i.e. of the Indian Education Commission) main policy, that of reducing Government expenditure in this sphere, and encouraging local and private effort, was essentially irreconcilable with any large scheme for deepening and strengthening the intellectual vitality of the colleges. Extensive, not intensive, growth was the necessary result of the policy which they recommended; and most of the new colleges which were stimulated into existence by their policy during the following twenty years were necessarily weak, understaffed and incapable of affording the individual attention to the needs of the student, or of providing the varied courses of study, practical as well as literary, which were necessary for the healthy development of Bengal. The main feature of the twenty years following 1882 was to be the rapid creation of colleges which depended mainly or wholly upon fees, and

throve as coaching institutions, rather than as places of learning."[1]

On the other hand, there was a group of educationists, consisting mostly of Indians, who thought that expansion was far more important than efficiency in the early stages of a nation's struggle for advance. This view may best be stated in the following words of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale:—

"Let not Government imagine that unless the education imparted by colleges is the highest which is at the present day possible, it is likely to prove useless and even pernicious; and secondly, let not the achievements of our graduates in the intellectual field be accepted as the sole, or even the most important, test to determine the utility of this education. I think, my Lord,—and this is a matter of deep conviction with me—that, in the present circumstances of India, all Western education is valuable and useful. If it is the highest that under the circumstances is possible, so much the better. But even if it is not the highest, it must not on that account be rejected. I believe that the life of a people—whether in the political or social or industrial or intellectual field—is an organic whole, and no striking progress in any particular field is to be looked for, unless there be room for the free movement of the energies of the people in all fields. To my mind, the greatest work of Western education in the present state of India is not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thraldom of old-world ideas, and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West. For this purpose not only the highest but *all* Western education is useful."[2]

2. **The Indian Universities Commission, 1902.** Towards the close of the last century, therefore, the problem of university reform began to dominate Indian educational thought. This was due to two reasons: Firstly, there was a growing feeling that the system of university organization, unrevised since 1857, had been

[1] *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60.
[2] *Gokhale's Speeches* (Edition 1920), pp. 234-5.

subjected to a very severe strain on account of the extraordinarily rapid development of secondary schools and colleges that had taken place since 1882. As we have seen in the preceding Section, opinions differed with regard to the extent of damage done, but there was general agreement that a drastic reform of the universities was immediately called for. Secondly, this opinion was strengthened further by the developments in England. As the Calcutta University Commission observes :—

> "The University of London, the model on which all the Indian Universities had been formed, was in the throes of reconstruction. Since 1884, there had been a growing opinion that the University ought to undertake teaching functions, and that it was no true university unless it did so. Two Royal Commissions, in 1888 and in 1894, had reported that a reconstruction of the London system was necessary; both, but specially the last, had emphatically asserted that it was the duty of the University, without being deterred by considerations affecting outlying students and colleges working for London degrees, to co-ordinate the existing teaching resources in London itself, and to supplement them. And in 1898 an Act of Parliament had provided for the transformation of the University of London into a teaching university, while maintaining its system of examinations for external students."[1]

As a result of these two factors, Government took up the problem of the reform of Indian universities, and, on 27th January 1902, appointed a commission "to inquire into the condition and prospects of the universities established in British India; to consider and report upon any proposals which have been, or may be, made for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend to the Governor-General-in-Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of

[1] *Report*, Vol. I, pp. 64-5.

University teaching, and to promote the advancement of learning."

The Commission submitted its report in the same year—a rather lengthy and highly technical document which does not require a detailed analysis and examination in this book. It will be sufficient for our purpose to note the following special features of this report:—

(*a*) The Commission adopted the model of the London University as modified by the Act of 1898. As the Calcutta University Commission points out—

> "In 1902 as in 1857, the policy of London seemed to be the latest word of educational statesmanship. There were four features of the London changes whose influence is directly perceptible in the Indian discussions. The first was the assertion that every university ought to be a teaching university. The second was the principle that no college should be allowed full privileges unless it was thoroughly well staffed and equipped. The third was the principle that teachers must always be intimately associated with the government of the university. The fourth was the contention that the supreme governing body of the university—called, in London as in India, the Senate—ought not to be too large. Thus once again, as so often before, educational controversy in England had its echo in India."[1]

(*b*) Just as the Commission of 1882 was precluded from reporting on university reform this Commission was precluded from reporting on secondary education. The result was equally unhappy and the Commission could not deal with the problem as a whole.

(*c*) The fundamental problems before the Commission were two:—

(*i*) to determine the type of university organization that should be ultimately developed in India; and

[1] *Report*, Vol. I, p. 65.

(*ii*) to propose such transitional arrangements as would enable the country to reach this predetermined goal in the shortest possible time.

It is to be regretted, however, that the Commission did not in its report discuss these fundamental questions.

"It did not ask whether the affiliating system ought ultimately to be replaced by some other mode of organization, or suggest means whereby a transition to a new system might be gradually made. On the contrary, it assumed the permanent validity of the existing system, in its main features and set itself only to improve and strengthen it.

Nothing illustrates this more clearly than the fact that in considering the projects of new universities then beginning to be advocated in India, it took for granted that they must be organised upon an affiliating basis, and rejected them mainly on the ground that there must be many colleges before there could be a university. Thus in Burma there were only two colleges, both in Rangoon. To any body of men accustomed to the working of European universities, this would have appeared a positive advantage, since it opened the possibility of organising a strong centralised university, instead of distributing the resources of the province over many weak institutions; to the Commission of 1902 it seemed to make the idea of a university in Burma unthinkable. Again, a University was desired in Nagpur: the Commission condemned the idea, on the ground that even if colleges were set up in every likely place throughout the Central Provinces, they would at the most only number eight."[1]

The report of the Commission, therefore, and *the Act of* 1904 which was based upon it, *did not aim at the fundamental reconstruction of the Indian University system.* They only proposed a rehabilitation and strengthening of the then existing system of affiliating universities.

(*d*) It would be recalled that affiliating universities were set up in India in 1857 just one year before

[1] *Report of the Calcutta University Commission,* Vol. I, p. 66.

affiliation, as the basis of university organization, was abandoned in London. A similar tragedy took place in 1902 also. The report of the Indian Universities Commission submitted in 1902 does not contain, as pointed above, any discussion of the fundamental problems of university organization, presumably because they were not being then discussed in England. In the very next year, however, the disruption in the federal Victoria University of Northern England was followed by a great discussion of the principles of university administration and led to the abandoning of the federal type of universities. Perhaps India would have profited more had the Commission sat in 1907 instead of in 1902.

(*e*) The recommendations of the Commission refer mainly to the following five topics:—

(*i*) The reorganization of university government.

(*ii*) A much more strict and systematic supervision of the colleges by the University, and the imposition of more exacting conditions of affiliation.

(*iii*) A much closer attention to the conditions under which students live and work.

(*iv*) The assumption of teaching functions by the University, within defined limits.

(*v*) Substantial changes in curricula, and in the methods of examination.

The third and the fifth of these groups of recommendations were necessarily left to be dealt with in detailed regulations to be framed by the reorganized universities. But the first, second and fourth groups of recommendations were embodied later in the Indian Universities Act, 1904, to which we shall now turn.

3. **The Indian Universities Act, 1904.** The *first* important change proposed by the Act was the enlargement of the functions of a University. It will be

recalled that the preamble of the Acts of 1857 restricted the functions of the Universities to the holding of examinations and the conferring of degrees. But Section 3 of the 1904 Act provided that

> "the University shall be (and shall be deemed to have been) incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of students, with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and this Act, which tend to the promotion of study and research."

The *second* important change proposed by the Act aimed at making the university senates of a manageable size. The Acts of Incorporation provided that Fellows of Universities were to be appointed by Government for life and did not lay down any upper limit to the number of Senators. During the fifty years that followed, Government did not always exercise this power of appointment in the best interests of the University. Persons were often appointed as Fellows

> "for purely honorific reasons, and not on the ground of their capacity for, or interest in, academic work.... Many were busy officials, many were ambitious pleaders, anxious for opportunities of winning status and popularity.... It was only by accident that the teachers, upon whom the main work of the University fell, were represented in the Senate or its executive, the Syndicate; many teachers of distinction never had an opportunity of making their voices heard; many colleges never obtained representation. The nominally Academic bodies, Faculties and Boards of Studies, which were responsible for drafting schemes of study and suggesting books, were appointed by the Senate from among their own number, and often consisted largely of men who had no special knowledge of the subjects they had to deal with."[1]

[1] *Report of the Calcutta University Commission,* Vol. I, p. 63.

It is also interesting to note that, in 1902, the Fellows of the Indian Universities numbered as under:—

University	*No. of Fellows*
Calcutta	.. 181
Bombay	.. 296
Madras	.. 198
Punjab	.. 136
Allahabad	.. 112

The Indian Universities Act, 1904, proposed, therefore, that the number of Fellows of a University shall *not be less than fifty nor more than hundred and that a Fellow should hold office for five years only instead of for life.*

The *third* change made by the Act was to introduce the principle of election. The history of the question has been well narrated in the following passage from the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07:—

"In the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras the Acts of Incorporation provided for no elective element in the Senate, the whole of which was to be either ex-officio or nominated, but in 1890 the Chancellor of the Calcutta University set the example, which was followed at Bombay and Madras, of permitting elections to be held at the rate of two or three a year. The electorate was confined at Calcutta to Masters of Arts or holders of corresponding degrees in other faculties, at Bombay to graduates of ten years' standing, and at Madras to Masters of Arts or Law, Doctors of Medicine, or Bachelors of twenty years' standing. The same qualifications were required in the candidates for election as in the electors. In this way the number of elected Fellows at these three Universities respectively stood, before the Act of 1904 was passed, at twenty-one, seventeen and sixteen.

In the Universities of the Punjab and Allahabad, on the other hand, the Acts of Incorporation permitted election by

the Senate upto a number not exceeding that of the nominated Fellows; and the practice at Allahabad had been to elect a Fellow as often as one was nominated, so that there were forty-three elected Fellows before the passing of the Act; while in the Punjab the practice of election by the Senate, which had been followed in earlier years, had fallen out of use, so that when the Act came into force there were but two elected Fellows remaining in the province.

The Act of 1904 considerably increased the proportion of elected Fellows in each University except Allahabad, for it required that twenty Fellows should be elected at the three older Universities and fifteen at the other two. Of the elected Fellows at the older Universities ten were to be elected by the registered graduates, who must be Doctors or Masters or graduates of ten years' standing, and ten were to be elected by the faculties, the Chancellor having power to prescribe the qualifications of the Fellows to be elected by the faculties.

At the two junior Universities ten were to be elected by the Senate or by registered graduates and five by the faculties. The practice of election by the Senate was to last until orders should be issued by the Chancellor, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, for its replacement by election by graduates."[1]

The *fourth* change introduced by the Act was to give a statutory recognition to syndicates and also to give an adequate representation to university teachers on the syndicates concerned. Section 15 of the Act runs as under:—

"15. (1) The executive government of the University shall be vested in the Syndicate, which shall consist of—

(*a*) the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman;

(*b*) the Director of Public Instruction for the province in which the headquarters of the university are situated; and in the case of the University of Allahabad, also the Director of Public Instruction of the Central Province; and

(*c*) not less than seven or more than fifteen ex-officio or ordinary Fellows elected by the Senate or by the

[1] Vol. I, pp. 8-9.

Faculties in such manner as may be provided by the regulations, to hold office for such period as may be prescribed by the regulations.

(2) The regulations referred to in sub-section (1) shall be so framed as to secure that a number not falling short by more than one of a majority of the elected members of the Syndicate shall be Heads of, or Professors in, Colleges affiliated to the University."

The *fifth* change introduced by the Act was to provide stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university and to provide that all affiliated colleges should be periodically inspected by the Syndicate in order to see that a proper standard of efficiency is being maintained. In this connection Sections 21, 23 and 24 deserve a careful study:—

21. (1) A college applying for affiliation to the University shall send a letter of application to the Registrar, and shall satisfy the Syndicate—

(*a*) that the college is to be under the management of a regularly constituted governing body;

(*b*) that the qualifications of the teaching staff and the conditions governing their tenure of office are such as to make due provision for the courses of instruction to be undertaken by the college;

(*c*) that the buildings in which the college is to be located are suitable, and that provision will be made, in conformity with the regulations, for the residence, in the college or in lodgings approved by the college, of students not residing with their parents or guardians, and for the supervision and physical welfare of students;

(*d*) that due provision has been or will be made for a library;

(*e*) where affiliation is sought in any branch of experimental science, that arrangements have been or will be made in conformity with the regulations for imparting instruction in that branch of science in a properly equipped laboratory or museum;

(*f*) that due provision will, so far as circumstances may permit, be made for the residence of the Head of the College and some members of the teaching staff in or near the college or the place provided for the residence of students;

(*g*) that the financial resources of the college are such as to make due provision for its continued maintenance;

(*h*) that the affiliation of the college, having regard to the provision made for students by other colleges in the same neighbourhood, will not be injurious to the interests of education or discipline; and

(*i*) that the college rules fixing the fees (if any) to be paid by the students have not been so framed as to involve such competition with any existing college in the same neighbourhood as would be injurious to the interests of education.

The application shall further contain an assurance that after the college is affiliated any transference of management and all changes in the teaching staff shall be forthwith reported to the Syndicate.

(2) On receipt of a letter of application under sub-section (1), the Syndicate shall—

(*a*) direct a local inquiry to be made by a competent person authorized by the Syndicate in this behalf;

(*b*) make such further inquiry as may appear to them to be necessary; and

(*c*) report to the Senate on the question whether the application should be granted or refused, either in whole or in part, embodying in such report the results of any inquiry under clauses (*a*) and (*b*).

And the Senate shall, after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to them to be necessary, record their opinion in the matter.

(3) The Registrar shall submit the application and all proceedings of the Syndicate and Senate relating thereto to the Government, who, after such further inquiry as may appear to them to be necessary, shall grant or refuse the application or any part thereof.

(4) Where the application or any part thereof is granted, the order of the Government shall specify the courses of instruction in respect of which the college is affiliated; and,

where the application or any part thereof is refused, the grounds of such refusal shall be stated.

(5) An application under sub-section (1) may be withdrawn at any time before an order is made under sub-section (3).

23. (1) Every college affiliated to the University, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, shall furnish such reports, returns and other information as the Syndicate may require to enable it to judge of the efficiency of the college.

(2) The Syndicate shall cause every such college to be inspected from time to time by one or more competent persons authorised by the Syndicate in this behalf.

(3) The Syndicate may call upon any college so inspected to take within a specified period such action as may appear to them to be necesary in respect of any of the matters referred to in section 21 (1).

24. (1) A member of the Syndicate who intends to move that the right conferred on any college by affiliation be withdrawn, in whole or in part, shall give notice of his motion and shall state in writing the grounds on which the motion is made.

(2) Before taking the said motion into consideration, the Syndicate shall send a copy of the notice and written statement mentioned in sub-section (1) to the Head of the college concerned, together with an intimation that any representation in writing submitted within a period specified in such intimation on behalf of the college will be considered by the Syndicate;

Provided that the period so specified may, if necessary, be extended by the Syndicate.

(3) On receipt of the representation or on expiration of the period referred to in sub-section (2), the Syndicate after considering the notice of motion, statement and representation and after such inspection by any competent person authorized by the Syndicate in this behalf, and such further inquiry as may appear to them to be necessary, shall make a report to the Senate.

(4) On receipt of the report under sub-section (3), the Senate shall, after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to them to be necessary, record their opinion on the matter.

(5) The Registrar shall submit the proposal and all proceedings of the Syndicate and Senate relating thereto to the Government, who, after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to them to be necessary, shall make such order as the circumstances may, in their opinion, require.

(6) Where by an order made under sub-section (5) the rights conferred by affiliation are withdrawn, in whole or in part, the grounds for such withdrawal shall be stated in the order.

The *sixth* change introduced by the Act was to vest in Government certain powers regarding the regulations to be framed by the Senate. Under the Acts of Incorporation, the sole authority for making regulations was the Senate and Government had only the power to veto inasmuch as all regulations had to obtain the approval of Government. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 provided that while approving the regulations framed by the Senate, Government may make such additions and alterations as may be necessary and even frame regulations itself should the Senate fail to do so within a specified period.

Lastly, the Act empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to define the territorial limits of the universities. This point was left moot in the Acts of 1857 with the result that certain anomalies crept in later on. For instance, some colleges were affiliated to two universities; some others were situated in the jurisdiction of one university but affiliated to another; and so on. Section 27 of the Act, therefore, laid down that "the Governor-General-in-Council may, by general or special order, define the territorial limits within which, and specify the colleges in respect of which, any powers conferred by or under the Act of Incorporation or this Act shall be exercised."

4. **Indian Reactions to the Universities Act of 1904.** Indian public opinion violently opposed this Act of University reform. The grounds for this opposition have been very ably stated in the speeches of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale who was then a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and who opposed the Act at every stage, and a careful study of his council speeches on this subject will give one an idea of the bitterness of the controversy that raged over the report of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 and the Indian Universities Bill of 1903.

It is necessary to remember that Indian public opinion was not opposed to the idea of university reform as such. In fact, it eagerly looked forward to it; and when Lord Curzon spoke of the need of university reform in 1899, his speech was enthusiastically welcomed throughout India. But certain events connected with the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction held at Simla in 1901 and the Indian Universities Commission of 1902, created a distrust in the minds of many regarding the motives of Government. It was felt, for example, that, under the pretext of reforms, Government was really trying to vest all power in the hands of European educationists—i.e. the European professors in Government and Missionary colleges—with a view to sabotaging the development of Indian private enterprise in the field of higher education. As Mr. Gokhale observed:—

"Let the Council for a moment glance at the circumstances which have preceded the introduction of this Bill. More than two years ago, Your Lordship summoned at Simla a Conference of men engaged in the work of education in the different provinces of India. Had the Conference been confined to the educational officers of Government, one would have thought

that Government was taking counsel with its own officers only, and of course there would have been no misunderstanding in the matter. But the presence of Dr. Miller at the Conference at once destroyed its official character, and gave room for the complaint that the deliberations were confined to European educationists in India only. The fact that the proceedings of the Conference were kept confidential deepened the feelings of uneasiness already created in the public mind by the exclusion of Indians from its deliberations. Later on, when the Universities Commission was first appointed, its composition, as is well known, afforded much ground for complaint; and though, to meet public opinion half way, Your Lordship took the unusual step of offering a seat on the Commission, almost at the last moment, to Mr. Justice Guru Das Banerjee the objection remained that, while missionary enterprise was represented on the Commission in the person of Dr. Mackichan, indigenous enterprise in the field of education was again left unrepresented. The hurried manner in which the Commission went about the country and took evidence and submitted its report was not calculated to reassure the public mind. Finally, the holding back of the evidence, recorded by the Commission, on the plea that its publication would involve unnecessary expense, was very unfortunate, as other Commissions had in the past published evidence ten times as voluminous and the question of economy had never been suggested. Now, My Lord, every one of these causes of complaint was avoidable and I cannot help thinking that a good deal of apprehension, which every right-minded person must deplore, would have been avoided, if Government had been from the beginning more careful in this matter."[1]

When this feeling of distrust and uneasiness was at its height, the Indian Universities Bill was published and its provisions came as a painful surprise, because what the people expected in the shape of reforms was far different from what the Bill proposed to give. As Mr. Gokhale observed:—

"It was thought that we were on the eve of a mighty reform which would change the whole face of things in regard to

[1] *Gokhale's Speeches* (Edition 1920), pp. 225-6.

higher education in India. A liberal provision of funds for the encouragement of original research and of higher teaching, the institution of an adequate number of substantial scholarships to enable our most gifted young men to devote themselves to advanced studies, an improvement in the status and mode of recruitment of the Educational Service so as to attract to it the best men available, both European and Indian, the simplification of the preliminary tests, with a single stiff examination at the end of the course for ordinary students, so as to discourage cramming as far as possible—these and other measures of reform appeared to be almost within sight. It was, however, not long before the new-born hope that had thus gladdened our hearts was chilled to death, and we found that, instead of the measures we were looking for, we were to have only a perpetuation of the narrow, bigoted and inexpansive rule of experts."[1]

Lord Curzon, whose early speeches on university reform were as zealously welcomed as the Indian Universities Act was violently opposed wondered "how it was that the appetite of the educated classes for University Reform, had suddenly died down"; but it is easy to see that the explanation of the phenomenon was to be found in the feelings of distrust and disappointment described above.

This opposition of the Indian public to the Indian Universities Act of 1904 centred chiefly round five issues: To begin with, the provisions which enabled the universities to assume teaching functions were not considered so important as Government thought them to be. As Mr. Gokhale observed:—

"Again in regard to the provisions empowering the universities to undertake teaching functions, I hope I am doing no injustice to the authors of the Bill, if I say that they themselves attach only a theoretical value to these provisions. The Allahabad University has possessed these powers for the last sixteen years, and yet that University is as far from under-

[1] *Gokhale's Speeches* (Edition 1920), pp. 255-6.

taking such functions as any other in India. The truth, My Lord, is that, in addition to other difficulties inherent in the position of our universities, their conversion into teaching bodies, even to the limited extent to which it is possible, is essentially a question of funds, and as there is no reason to assume that private liberality will flow in this direction after the bill becomes law, and Government will not provide the resources necessary for the purpose, these enabling clauses are, as in the case of Allahabad, destined to remain a dead letter for a long time to come. The Government themselves do not seem to take a different view of the matter, as, after including these provisions in the Bill, they are content to leave the rest to time, with the expression of a pious hope that some day somebody will find the money to enable some University in India to undertake teaching functions! While, therefore, I am prepared to recognise that these provisions embody a noble aspiration, I must decline to attach any great value to them for practical purposes."[1]

Secondly, Indian opinion welcomed the principle of election introduced by the Bill but pointed out that the seats thrown open to election were very few and that the Act failed to provide for election by professors who were just the class of persons who had more immediate interest than any other in the deliberations of the University.

Thirdly, while Indian opinion was not opposed to the idea of restricting the total number of Fellows in a University, a fear was expressed that the small numbers fixed by the Act—evidently inspired by the model of the reconstituted London University—were really intended to create a majority for Europeans in the constitution of Indian Universities. As Mr. Gokhale observed :—

"There is no doubt whatever that under the Bill the proportion of Indian members in the Senates of the different universities will be much smaller than at present. The Fellows

[1] *Gokhale's Speeches* (Edition 1920), pp. 237-8.

elected by graduates will, as a rule, be Indians; the Faculties will consist almost entirely of Government nominees and of such other persons as these nominees may co-opt. There is not much room for the hope that any considerable proportion of the Fellows elected by these Faculties will be Indians. As regards Government nominations, their choice will naturally first fall on European educationists; then will come European Judges, Barristers, Civilians, Engineers, Doctors and such other people. As the numbers of the new Senates are now to be very small, one can easily see that there is hardly any margin for the inclusion of any except a very few most prominent Indians in the Government list. The Senators of the future will thus be dominantly Europeans, with only a slight sprinkling of Indians just to keep up appearances."[1]

Fourthly, the stricter provisions for affiliation of colleges were also strongly opposed. This was due to the fear that they were intended chiefly to embarrass Indian private effort in the field of education—a fear that was all the more strengthened by the idea that the reorganized university bodies will mostly consist of Europeans.

But the greatest opposition of all was directed against those aspects of the Act which gave more powers to Government in the administration of universities. These included the power to nominate most of the Fellows, the power to require approval for affiliation

[1] *Gokhale's Speeches* (Edition 1920), pp. 243-4. But it is necessary to point out that these apprehensions proved to be groundless later on. For instance, the first Senates of the Universities under this Act were constituted as under:—

University	*No. of Fellows*		
	European	*Indian*	*Total*
1. Calcutta	41	43	84
2. Bombay	41	59	100
3. Madras	36	34	70
4. Punjab	35	40	75
5. Allahabad	39	36	75

It was this fact, rather than any other, that reconciled Indian opinion to the Act and led to a considerable weakening of the opposition which was so keen in the years between 1902 and 1905.

or disaffiliation of colleges, the power to alter, or even to frame regulations, etc. It was argued that under the new Act, the universities became practically a Department of the state. In this opposition to the Universities Act, therefore, we find the beginning of a tendency to claim more power in educational matters to the people themselves—a movement that culminated in the transfer of the Education Department to an elected Minister in 1921.

5. **Achievement of the Indian Universities Act of 1904**. In the heat of bitter controversy about university reform that raged between the years 1902 and 1905, the importance of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was greatly exaggerated by Government spokesmen who looked upon it as a panacea for all the ills of collegiate education while Indian public opinion misunderstood the Act and condemned it unequivocally as a retrograde measure. But the Act was neither one nor the other; and at this distance of time, it is possible to view dispassionately its achievements and failures.

The analysis of the Act given in an earlier section will show that it was primarily an administrative measure. Its avowed aim was to make the administration of universities more efficient than it had been hitherto and it must be admitted that it succeeded considerably in this. The Senates of the reorganized universities were more manageable and efficient than earlier ones; and as the nominations made by Government belied the fears of the Indian public it was soon admitted on all hands that the Act had, on the whole, raised the tone of University administration.

Secondly, the stricter conditions of affiliation and the arrangements for periodical inspection made it difficult

for new colleges to spring into existence and even led to the elimination of a number of weak institutions. In 1902, the total number of colleges affiliated to the Indian Universities stood at 192.[1] After the stricter conditions of affiliation were enforced, the total number of colleges affiliated to the Indian Universities fell down to 174 in 1907. The net decrease is of 18 colleges but the total decrease in their number must have been much greater as there were some new affiliations also. The causes of this fall in the number of affiliated colleges are thus explained in the Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India, 1902-07 :—

> "The changes in the numbers of affiliated institutions which have taken place during the quinquennium are rather apparent than real, and are chiefly due to the removal of fictitious or duplicate entries. Thus the Calcutta University has been shorn of all the colleges situated outside its territorial limits, but these institutions were in many cases also affiliated to the University to which they now exclusively belong, and their affiliation to Calcutta was nominal...... Secondly, there were some colleges on the lists of the Universities which had only a nominal existence, mere dummies which had once sent students up for degrees but had long since ceased to do so. Thirdly, there were numerous schools (especially schools for European boys) which had at some time or other obtained affiliation up to the Intermediate Standard and which in some years had a class of undergraduates and in other years had not. Some of these have renounced their shadowy pretensions to the title of college and have been struck off the list. A considerable number, however, still remain. They are not in truth colleges; the provision which they make for their occasional undergraduate students is neither separate from the school nor permanent nor up to University standards. The schools will continue to disappear gradually from the lists, and their disappearance will cause a further apparent drop in the numbers of the affiliated colleges. Lastly, there are a few real cases of weak institutions that have been obliged to close,

[1] Excluding nine colleges in Ceylon and two in Burma.

owing to their inability to conform to the standards required by the Universities."[1]

As anticipated in this review, there was a further decline in the number of affiliated colleges which stood at 170 in 1911-12 in spite of the new affiliations during the quinquennium. But from this time onwards there was a steady increase in the number of affiliated colleges and in 1921-22, it stood at 207.

It must be pointed out, however, that this slight increase in the number of colleges (from 192 in 1902 to 207 in 1921-22) did not mean any setback to the development of collegiate education. For, in spite of the temporary or apparent decrease in the number of colleges noticed between the years 1904-12, the number of students attending them was continually and rapidly increasing between 1902 and 1921. Nor was the growth of Indian private enterprise in the field of collegiate education affected adversely by the Indian Universities Act of 1904. If anything, the growth of colleges conducted by Indians was far more rapid after 1904 than before it. The fears of the opponents of the Act, therefore, proved to be groundless to a considerable extent. On the other hand, the hopes entertained by the framers of the Act that the strict conditions of affiliation would lead to an improvement in collegiate instruction were largely fulfilled. It is, of course, true that it was not the conditions, by themselves, that led to the improvement. Large increase in fee-receipts owing to the rise in the number of students coupled with the prescription of higher rates of fees, liberal grants-in-aid from Government, and considerable endowments from people were also the factors that materially contributed to this

[1] Vol. I, p. 37.

end. All the same, the salutary effect of the Act in initiating, maintaining or accelerating this upward trend in efficiency cannot be overlooked or underestimated.

These were the main achievements of the Act. Its failures, however, were greater still. It did nothing to overhaul the system of university education and to put it on a proper basis; it did not create new universities though these were badly needed; and finally, it gave so much control to Government in the administration of the University that the Calcutta University Commission described the Indian Universities as "the most completely governmental universities in the world."

CHAPTER XII

ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF UNIVERSITIES—(*Contd.*)

(1902-21)

1. **Development of Colleges of General Education between 1902 and 1921.** This period, as we saw in the last Chapter, began with a movement for the reform of Collegiate education with the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. We have also seen how the strict conditions of affiliation imposed by this Act made it difficult for new colleges to come into existence and how they even led to the elimination of a number of existing ones. It was also pointed out that in spite of the slow rise in the number of colleges, the number of students at the University stage increased very rapidly during the first two decades of this century. For example, in 1901-02, the total number of students reading in 138[1] colleges (out of the total of 168 in the whole of India) was stated to be 17,000. In 1921-22 the number of students reading in the colleges of general education in British India only was 45,418 and that of students reading in the colleges of India as a whole was 54,473 ; in other words, the number of students going in for the Arts and Science courses of the Indian Universities increased by over 200 per cent in twenty years.

[1] The 30 colleges excluded mostly belong to Indian States. For details *vide Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1897-1902, Vol. I, para 200. (We have excluded the figures for Burma also).

This was due to the same causes that led to expansion of collegiate education in the nineteenth century but with a different emphasis. As we have seen, the securing of a good post under Government was, in the last century, the most powerful motive for entering a University. At that time, the out-turn of graduates was small and almost every holder of a University degree obtained employment under Government. By 1902, the situation had materially altered. The out-turn of graduates was now considerably greater and it was no longer easy for the holder of a University degree to secure a post under Government. By 1921, the spectre of "educated unemployment" had already raised its ugly head in the field of collegiate education. Hence the desire to obtain employment under Government was no longer the most important cause of the expansion of collegiate education. *On the other hand, a large number of students were now driven to colleges of general education merely for a lack of alternative openings.* The provision of alternative vocational courses at the upper secondary stage was extremely inadequate; the professional colleges were few and had limited accommodation; and the industries of the country were not developed. Consequently, very few openings in trade or industry were available for qualified young men, and an ever-increasing number of pupils in secondary schools was driven to the Matriculation in the first instance and thence to the Arts and Science Colleges of the University. This aimless increase in the number of students in colleges of general education was, therefore, more a sign of disease than of robust growth.

Another notable feature of this period was the great

improvement that was brought about in the standard of collegiate education. The colleges of this period were generally better staffed, better equipped, and better housed than those of the earlier period. As stated in the last Chapter, this was partly due to the stricter conditions of affiliation imposed by the Act of 1904. The main cause, however, was the improvement in the finances of collegiate institutions due to increased receipts by way of fees, more endowments and subscriptions, and larger grants from Government.

The most important source of revenue to the colleges is that of fees. During the period under review, there was a considerable increase in the income from this source partly because of the raising of fees and partly because of the increase in the number of students. In 1901-02, the incidence of fees per student was Rs. 57 per annum whereas it rose to Rs. 84 per annum in 1921-22. Secondly, the average strength of the college which was 123 in 1901-02 increased to 263 in 1921-22. The combined effects of these causes led to an increase in the income from fees thus enabling the managers to take effective steps to improve their institutions.

Similarly, the income from endowments and subscriptions increased considerably during the period under review and Government also came forward with larger grants. A grant of Rs. 5 lakhs a year was sanctioned by the Government of India from 1905 onwards for the improvement of the Universities. Out of this a sum of Rs. 13½ lakhs was devoted to the improvement of collegiate education in the first five years. The grant was then made a permanent recurring grant and out of it a sum of Rs. 3,65,000 a year was earmarked for collegiate

education and was distributed as under among the Provinces: —

Province	*Amount*
Madras	Rs. 80,000
Bombay	„ 45,000
Bengal	„ 1,10,000
United Provinces	„ 40,000
Punjab	„ 20,000
Eastern Bengal & Assam	„ 60,000
Central Provinces & Berar	„ 10,000
TOTAL	Rs. 3,65,000

In the quinquennium of 1907-1912, a further recurring grant of Rs. 2.45 lakhs was sanctioned by the Government of India for improvement of colleges. Moreover, Government gave large non-recurring grants, particularly for the construction of hostels. Another recurring grant of Rs. 2.84 lakhs was made in the next quinquennium. In 1921-22, the total Government expenditure on collegiate institutions of general education was Rs. 49.26 lakhs, of which an amount of Rs. 15.28 lakhs was given as grant-in-aid to private colleges.[1] The following statistics of expenditure on colleges in 1901-02 and 1921-22 speak for themselves. It must be remembered, however, that the statistics of both the years include two colleges in Burma, and that while the statistics of 1921-22 are for British India only, those of 1901-02 include three colleges from Indian States and exclude one from British India:

[1] Figures for Arts, Science and Oriental Colleges in British India only. (Figures for Burma are included.)

(All figures in thousands of Rupees)

—	Expenditure on Colleges of General Education from						
	Provincial Revenues	Local Funds	Municipal Funds	Fees	Endowments and Donations	Subscriptions	Total
Colleges managed by Government ...	6,69	1	...	3,60	32	...	10,62
Colleges managed by Local and Municipal Funds ...	5	...	3	15	2	...	25
Colleges aided by Government or Local or Municipal Funds ...	2,50	7	16	3,87	3,36	48	10,44
Unaided Colleges ...	...	...	...	2,04	1,91	29	4,24
Total for the year 1901-02 ...	9,24	8	19	9,66	5,61	77	25,55
Colleges managed by Government ...	33,77	...	2	9,48	25	17	43,69
Colleges managed by Local and Municipal Funds ...	20	...	5	9	17	1	52
Colleges aided by Government or Local or Municipal Funds ...	15,28	18	23	20,45	3,17	14,48	53,79
Unaided Colleges ...	...	...	...	7,77	1,52	3,09	12,38
Total for the year 1921-22 ...	49,25	18	30	37,79	5,11	17,75	1,10,38

It will be seen from these figures—

(*i*) that the total expenditure on collegiate education in British India (inclusive of Burma) increased by Rs. 84,83 thousands;

(*ii*) that this increase was mostly made up by an increase of Rs. 40,01 thousand in Government expenditure, of Rs. 28,13 thousand in fees, and of Rs. 16,48 thousand in the receipts from subscriptions and endowments; and

(*iii*) that a major part of the increase in Government expenditure (Rs. 27,08 thousand) was incurred on Government institutions while a comparatively smaller part (Rs. 12,78 thousand) was devoted to the improvement of private colleges.

2. **Professional Education* in India in 1921-22.** This expansion and improvement of colleges of general education can be easily contrasted with the slow development of the colleges of professional education. In Chapter VIII, we pointed out that the most important aim of Government in introducing liberal education in India was to spread Western knowledge and science rather than to train officers for Government service. But this can hardly be said of the institutions for professional education that came to be established. Most of these were started for the training of subordinate officers under Government. For instance, the Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorki was established because trained engineers were required for the Ganges Canal; several technical institutions owe their existence to the demands made by the railways; Veterinary Colleges arose out of the needs of the Army Department;

[1] The statistics given in this section are taken from University figures. They exclude colleges not affiliated to any university. Figures for the Rangoon University are also excluded.

and so on. Even as late as 1904, Lord Curzon admitted that "technical education in India has hitherto been mainly directed to the higher forms of instruction required to train men for Government service as engineers, mechanicians, electricians, overseers, surveyors, revenue officers, or teachers in schools, and for employment in railway workshops, cotton mills and mines."[1] This feature of the development of professional colleges, therefore, forms an important contrast to that of the colleges of general education.

The subject of professional education will be dealt with fully in Chapter XXIV. Here it is only necessary to call attention to the following main features of professional education in India in 1921-22 :—

(*a*) The professional colleges in India were far fewer than colleges of general education. In 1921-22, the former numbered only 44 as against 207 colleges of Arts and Science.

(*b*) The number of students reading in all professional colleges taken together was only 11,885, as compared with 54,473 in colleges of general education.

(*c*) A closer scrutiny of the statistics of professional colleges shows that the large bulk of the institutions and students belonged to the black-coated professions of teachers, doctors, and lawyers and very few to trade, industry, or commerce. For instance, of the 44 professional colleges, 12 were colleges of education, 7 of medicine and 13 of law. Colleges of Engineering and Commerce were only 5 each. Although two-thirds of the population in India lives on agriculture, the

[1] *Resolution on Educational Policy,* 1904, para 31.

number of agricultural colleges was just 2! The distribution of the 11,885 students was as under:

Colleges of Education	..	519
„ Medicine	..	3,863
„ Law	..	5,895
Total for black-coated professions	..	10,277
Colleges of Engineering	..	803
„ Commerce	..	479
„ Agriculture	..	326
Total for trade and industry	..	1,608
Grand total for all professional colleges		11,885

(*d*) The utter backwardness of professional education from the point of view of trade and industry is fully realised when it is remembered that even out of the 1,608 students reading in colleges for this purpose, the main objective of most was to seek employment under Government.

3. **Position of Collegiate Education in 1921-22.** We have so far traced the gradual evolution of the system of collegiate education in India between the years 1857, when the Universities were established, and 1921, when the Department of Education was transferred to Indian control. Its main *achievements* were: (*i*) the introduction of Indians to Western languages, culture, literature, science and art, (*ii*) the emancipation of Indian mind from "the thraldom of old-world ideas", and (*iii*) the inauguration of a renaissance in all fields of Indian life and thought. On the other hand, it also

developed some serious defects. For instance, the whole system was *top-heavy, predominantly literary, and unhelpful for the industrial and commercial regeneration of the country.* This result was the logical conclusion of some aspects of the policy outlined in the Despatch of 1854, viz. (*i*) the spread of Western knowledge and science, (*ii*) the training of Indians in such professions as will make them good employees of Government, (*iii*) and the development of a system which will make India the supplier of raw materials to, and the purchaser of the finished products of, British Industries. Perhaps the best comment on the defects of the system can be found in the following passage from the report of the Calcutta University Commission. The figures quoted in the extract are of 1917 and of Bengal only. But the picture they present is true of India as a whole, not only as it was in 1917, but even as it is in 1943 :—

"One of the most remarkable features in the recent history of Bengal, and, indeed, of India, has been the very rapid increase in the number of university students which has taken place during the last two decades, and more especially since the Universities Act of 1904. In 1904, 2,430 candidates presented themselves for the intermediate examination of the University of Madras, 457 for that of Bombay, and 3,832 for that of Calcutta. These numbers in themselves were striking enough, considering that the universities were in 1904 less than fifty years old. But the numbers in 1917 were 5,424 for Madras, 1,281 for Bombay, and no less than 8,020 for Calcutta. This means that while the increase in numbers has everywhere been striking, it has been much greater in Bengal than in any other part of India ; nor is it easy to find any parallel to it in any part of the world. The flood of candidates for university training has put so heavy a strain upon the university and its colleges as to lead almost to a breakdown. It has brought out in high relief every deficiency of the system. And if justice is to be done to a great opportunity, and the eagerness of young Bengalis for academic training is to be

made as advantageous to their country as it ought to be, it has become manifest that bold and drastic changes and improvements in the system are necessary.

2. The full significance of these facts can perhaps be most clearly brought out by a comparison between Bengal and the United Kingdom. The populations of the two countries are almost the same—about 45,000,000. By a curious coincidence the number of students preparing for university degrees is also almost the same—about 26,000. But since in Bengal only about one in ten of the population can read and write, the proportion of the educated classes of Bengal who are taking full-time university courses is almost ten times as great as in the United Kingdom.

3. Nor is this the most striking part of the contrast. The figures for the United Kingdom include students drawn from all parts of the British Empire, including Bengal itself, those of Bengal are purely Indian. Again, in the United Kingdom a substantial proportion of the student population consists of women ; in Bengal, the number of women-students is—and in view of existing social conditions is likely long to remain—very small indeed. Still more important, in the United Kingdom a very large proportion of the student-population are following professional courses, in medicine, law, theology, teaching, engineering or technical science. In Bengal, though the number of students of law is very great, the number of medical students is much smaller than in the United Kingdom ; there are very few students of engineering ; students of theology, whether Hindu or Islamic, do not study for university degrees ; students of teaching are extraordinarily few ; and there are, as yet, practically no students of technical science, because the scientific industries of Bengal are in their infancy, and draw their experts mainly from England.

4. It appears, therefore, that while an enormously higher proportion of the educated male population of Bengal proceeds to University studies than is the case in the United Kingdom, a very much smaller proportion goes to the University for what is ordinarily described as vocational training. The great majority —over 22,000 out of 26,000—pursue purely literary courses which do not fit them for any but administrative, clerical, teaching and (indirectly) legal careers. In the United Kingdom (if the training of teachers be regarded as vocational training) it is possible

that these proportions would be nearly reversed. A comparison with any other large and populous state would yield similar results. Bengal is unlike any other civilised country in that so high a proportion of its educated classes set before them a University degree as the natural goal of ambition, and seek this goal by means of studies which are almost purely literary in character, and which therefore provide scarcely any direct professional training."[1]

4. Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 21st February 1913. The attempts at the reform of the system of University education formed, therefore, the most important feature of the first two decades of the twentieth century. In this connection, it is necessary to note that the period 1903-13 is of great importance in the history of British Universities. During this period, the fundamental problems of University organization were brought under review in England and expert opinion came to the conclusion that the federal type of university was not satisfactory because it was difficult to work and not conducive to rapid progress. The federal type of organization was, therefore, *abandoned* by about 1913 and most British Universities were reconstituted (wherever necessary) as unitary, teaching and residential organizations. These developments had their echo in India also and Government had, therefore, to review the question almost within a decade of the passing of the Universities Act of 1904. This was done in the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 21st February 1913, which stated :—

"Good work, which the Government of India desire to acknowledge, has been done under conditions of difficulty by the Indian Universities ; and by common consent the Universities Act of 1904 has had beneficial results ; but the condition of University education is still far from satisfactory, in regard to residential arrangements, control, the courses of study

[1] Vol. I, pp. 19-21.

and the system of examination. The Government of India have accordingly again reviewed the whole question of University education.

It is important to distinguish clearly on the one hand the federal university, in the strict sense, in which several colleges of approximately equal standing separated by no excessive distance or marked local individuality are grouped together as a university—and on the other hand the affiliating university of the Indian type, which in its inception was merely an examining body, and although limited as regards the area of its operation by the Act of 1904 has not been able to insist upon an identity of standard in the various institutions conjoined to it. The former of these types has in the past enjoyed some popularity in the United Kingdom, but after experience it has been largely abandoned there; and the constituent colleges which were grouped together, have for the most part become separate teaching universities, without power of combination with other institutions at a distance. At present there are only 5 Indian Universities for 185 arts and professional colleges in British India besides several institutions in native States. The day is probably far distant when India will be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating university. But it is necessary to restrict the area over which the affiliating universities have control by securing in the first instance a separate university for each of the leading provinces in India and secondly to create new local teaching and residential universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency. The Government of India have decided to found a teaching and residential University at Dacca and they are prepared to sanction under certain conditions the establishment of similar universities at Aligarh and Benares and elsewhere as occasion may demand. They also contemplate the establishment of universities at Rangoon, Patna and Nagpur. It may be possible hereafter to sanction the conversion into local teaching universities, with power to confer degrees upon their own students, of those colleges which have shown the capacity to attract students from a distance and have attained the requisite standard of efficiency. Only by experiment will it be found out what type or types of universities are best suited to the different parts of India.

Simultaneously the Government of India desire to see teaching faculties developed at the seats of the existing universities and corporate life encouraged, in order to promote higher study and create an atmosphere from which students will imbibe good social, moral and intellectual influence. They have already given grants and hope to give further grants hereafter to these ends. They trust that each university will soon build up a worthy university library, suitably housed, and that higher studies in India will soon enjoy all the external conveniences of such work in the West.

In order to free the universities for higher work and more efficient control of colleges, the Government of India are disposed to think it desirable (in provinces where this is not already the case) to place the preliminary recognition of schools for purposes of presenting candidates for Matriculation in the hands of the Local Governments and in the case of Native States of the durbars concerned while leaving to the universities the power of selection from schools so recognised. The university has no machinery for carrying out this work and in most provinces already relies entirely on the departments of public instruction, which alone have the agency competent to inspect schools. As teaching and residential universities are developed the problem will become even more complex than it is at present. The question of amending the Universities Act will be separately considered.

The Government of India hope that by these developments a great impetus will be given to higher studies throughout India and that Indian students of the future will be better equipped for the battle of life than the students of the present generation."

5. **The Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19.** The Resolution may be described as a turning point in the history of Indian universities. It practically laid the foundation for the future expansion of university education in India by declaring that a university would be established for each Province, that teaching activities of universities would be encouraged, and that the colleges located in mofussil towns would be developed into teaching universities in due course. But no action along

the lines indicated herein was taken by Government partly because it was believed that an expert enquiry into the question was essential before any definite steps could be taken and partly because of the outbreak of the Great World War. But as early as 1917, Government appointed the Calcutta University Commission to study and report on the problem. This is also known as the *Sadler Commission* from its President, Dr. (now Sir) M. E. Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. The other members of the Commission were Dr. Gregory, Mr. (now Sir) Philip Hartog, Professor Ramsay Muir, Sir Asutosh Mookerji, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and Dr. (now Sir) Zia-ud-din Ahmad. The Commission was asked to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the problems which it presented. The terms of reference of the Commission also stated that the Commission might, for purposes of comparison, study the organization and working of the universities in India other than that of Calcutta. The Commission did feel the need of such comparative study and visited most other Indian universities also.

The report of the Commission, published in 1919, is a document of inter-provincial importance. Although it deals with the Calcutta University only, the problems that it has studied are more or less common to the other Indian universities. Hence, the report of the Commission had far-reaching consequences upon the development of university education in India as a whole.

The main recommendations of the Commission have been noticed below:—

(*a*) We have seen that the Commissions of 1882 and 1902 could not do full justice to the subject of higher

education because the first was precluded from reporting on the universities and the second was precluded from studying the problems of secondary education. The Calcutta University Commission, on the other hand, studied the problems of secondary education as well as those of university teaching because it held the view that improvement of secondary education was an essential foundation for the improvement of university teaching itself. The Commission, therefore, made radical recommendations regarding the reorganization of secondary schools. These may be briefly stated as under:—

(*i*) The dividing line between the university and secondary courses is more properly drawn at the Intermediate examination than at the Matriculation.

(*ii*) Government should, therefore, create a new type of institutions called the "Intermediate Colleges" which would provide for instruction in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering, Teaching, etc. These colleges might either be run as independent institutions or might be attached to selected high schools.

(*iii*) The admission test for universities should be the passing of the Intermediate examination.

(*iv*) A Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education consisting of the representatives of Government, University, High Schools, and Intermediate Colleges should be established and entrusted with the administration and control of secondary education.

The fate of this proposal will be discussed in Chapter XXI.

(*b*) The Commission came to the conclusion that the numbers of colleges and students under the Calcutta University were too great to be dealt with by a single organization. The Commission, therefore, recommended that—

(*i*) a unitary teaching university should be established immediately at Dacca;

(*ii*) the teaching resources of the Calcutta City should be pooled together with a view to the establishment of a teaching university at Calcutta; and

(*iii*) the colleges in the mofussil should be so developed as to make it possible to encourage the gradual rise of new university centres by the concentration of resources for higher teaching at a few points.

The first recommendation was carried out in 1920.

The fate of the second recommendation can be seen from the following quotation:—

"In order to give effect to these recommendations the Government of India drafted a bill for the reconstruction of the University of Calcutta. Questions of finance and questions of detail delayed the introduction of the bill in the Imperial Legislature. The position was altered by the constitutional changes that took place in 1921. It was decided to transfer the control of the Calcutta University from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal and to leave any further initiative for the reform of the University to be taken by the local Government. An Act was passed in March 1921 substituting the Governor of Bengal for the Governor-General as the Chancellor of the University. Except for this change and for the excision of the Dacca University area from the control of the Calcutta University, the report of the Commissioners has had little effect on the conditions of the University which they were called in to advise........ Although a resolution was passed in the Bengal Council in July 1921 advocating an increase in the elective element of the Senate, no general movement in favour of a more extensive adoption of the Commission's proposals was evident in Bengal during the period under review."[1]

The third recommendation has yet remained a pious hope.

(c) The Commission made the following general recommendations regarding University work:—

(*i*) The regulations governing the work of the universities should be made less rigid;

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1917-22, Vol. I, p. 52.

(*ii*) Honours courses, as distinct from pass courses, should be instituted in the universities in order to make provision for the needs of abler students;

(*iii*) The duration of the degree course should be three years after the intermediate stage;

(*iv*) Appointments to professorships and readerships should be made by special selection committees, including external experts.

(*v*) Having regard to the comparatively backward condition of the Muslim community in regard to education, every reasonable means should be taken to encourage Muslim students and to safeguard their interests.

(*vi*) In view of the necessity for paying greater attention to the health and physical welfare of students, a Director of Physical Training, holding the rank and salary of a professor, should be appointed in each university; a Board of Students' Welfare, including medical representatives, should be one of the standing boards or committees of each university; and special efforts should be made to supervise the conditions of students' residence.

(*d*) On several other questions, the Commission made important recommendations some of which are summarised below:—

(*i*) *Female Education.*—Purdah schools should be organized for Hindu and Muslim girls whose parents are willing to extend their education to 15 or 16; a Special Board of Women's Education should be established in the Calcutta University and should be empowered to propose special courses of study more particularly suited for women, and to organize co-operative arrangements for teaching in the women's colleges, more particularly for the training of teachers, and in preparation for medical courses.

(*ii*) *Training of Teachers.*—The output of trained teachers should be substantially increased; Departments of Education should be created in the Universities of Dacca and Calcutta; Education should be

included as a subject for the Intermediate and B.A. degrees.

(*iii*) *Technology.*—It is an important and, indeed, a necessary function of a university to include applied science and technology in its courses and to recognize their systematic and practical study by degrees and diplomas.

(*iv*) *Professional and Vocational Training.*—On this important subject, the Commission made the following observations:—

"35. We have been deeply impressed by the general disregard among University students in Bengal of the possibility of finding careers in practical—professional and technical—work, other than law and (to a less extent) medicine; by the deficiency of opportunities for obtaining training for such careers, and by the consequent overcrowding of courses of purely literary study. This disregard has its roots in historical and social facts which especially affect the classes from which the bulk of the students are drawn. But it must be amended; and any scheme of educational reform which does not place in the forefront the need for such an amendment must fall short of the country's needs.

36. The stronghold which the University and its courses possess upon the minds of the educated classes in Bengal has led to the suggestion that if only the University offers degree courses and examinations in practical and technical subjects the prejudice against careers of this type will be overcome. There is something to be said for this view, and undoubtedly action ought to be taken by the universities, and will have a useful influence upon opinion. But in this sphere even more than in others, it is training above all which is needed, and as training is costly and demands elaborate equipment in nearly all vocational subjects, no course of study should be defined until there is a responsible assurance that the necessary provision of teaching and equipment is forthcoming. And unfortunate results may follow, and the whole movement towards practical careers suffer a check, if men are turned out in large numbers with an equipment of a kind for which there

is very little demand. There is a real danger in the idea that, if an examination is provided and a degree course defined, all that is necessary is done.

37. But the provision of courses of study by the University, even on the most adequate scale, is not enough. Degree courses in technical and professional subjects, other than those for the established professions of medicine and law, are required by a comparatively restricted number of persons even in highly industrialised countries. The highly trained scientific experts whom the industries of a country can absorb—and it is only with the training of such that a university should be concerned—must always be relatively few in number. On the other hand, industry, especially in a country where it is just entering upon a period of expansion, needs a very large number of men who are intelligent and educated, and whose training has given them some introduction to the sciences at the base of their calling, but who cannot be called scientific experts. The need for such men is probably the greatest need of today in Bengal; though the others also are needed. And from this point of view the system of intermediate colleges with their varied courses—each with some vocational bias though still general in character—must be of very great value. They will be of value also in providing students with a more efficient preliminary training, not only for technical courses of study, but also for the older professional courses. They represent, in short, the essential foundation of a new and sounder system of training."[1]

6. **Creation of New Universities.** The Government Resolution of Educational Policy dated 21st February 1913, and the report of the Calcutta University Commission 1917-19, led to the creation of a large number of new universities in the period 1917-22. It may be noted here that, after the incorporation of the Allahabad University in 1887, no new university was established in India till 1916, and that during these 30 years, there had occurred a tremendous rise in the number of colleges and of students attending them. The work of the

[1] *Report,* Vol. V, pp. 334-5.

existing universities had, therefore, increased considerably as the following statistics of 1917 will show:—

University	Colleges	Students
Calcutta	58	28,618
Bombay	17	8,001
Madras	53	10,216
Punjab	24	6,558
Allahabad	33	7,807
Total ..	185	61,200

The decision of the Government of India to start as many new universities as possible was, therefore, a wise, if a belated, move. It was further strengthened by the desire of the people themselves to have a larger number of universities and to found teaching and residential universities wherever possible. The result of this joint effort was that the number of universities in India increased from five in 1916 to twelve[1] in 1921-22! The following brief notes are offered here on the new universities so created:—

(*a*) *MYSORE*.—A university of the affiliated type was established at Mysore in 1916 for the area of the State itself. The incorporation of this university led to a considerable dimunition in the work done by the Madras University.

(*b*) *PATNA*.—A university was established at Patna in 1917 for the Province of Bihar and Orissa. This University was generally modelled on the older universities but its constitution showed certain deviations from

[1] The University of Delhi has been excluded. Its Act of Incorporation was passed in March 1922, but it was enforced from May 1922. The history of this University is, therefore, treated in Chapter XXI as part of the next period.

the model of 1904. It is interesting to note these deviations because they show how Government had to yield finally to the demands of Indian public opinion which had been summarily ignored in 1904. The Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education, 1912-17, describes these deviations in the following words:—

> "An important deviation from the provisions of the Act of 1904 is that whereby Government is deprived of its independent judgment regarding affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges and its power of final decision is limited to those cases which have been forwarded with the approval of the Syndicate and the Senate. The powers of Government are curtailed in other ways also and popular control is increased. It is not expressly stated that the Vice-Chancellor shall be a whole-time officer of the university (though the first Vice-Chancellor does fulfil this condition). The nominated element in the Senate is cut down to a maximum of 25 members and the elected element raised to a maximum of 50. In addition to the registered graduates, new electorates have been introduced—the teaching staff of colleges, graduate teachers of schools, associations and public bodies. The Syndicate contains four *ex-officio* members and 14 elected by the Senate, of whom at least seven must be on the staff of the university or the colleges. Hence, while it will be preponderatingly professorial (the *ex-officio* members being the Vice-Chancellor, the Director and the principals of the two chief colleges), the nominated element is eliminated from the Syndicate."[1]

(c) *BENARES.*—A teaching and residential university was established at Benares by an Act of 1915 and began its operations in 1917. This University is known popularly as the Benares Hindu University, and it owes its existence to the great work of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

(d) *ALIGARH.*—Similar in objects is the Muslim University at Aligarh which was established in 1920. This University stands in the same relation to the

[1] Vol. I, p. 69.

Muslims as the Benares University does to the Hindus. It grew out of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh whose history was narrated in Chapter X. The University is a living memorial to the great work of the late Sir Saiyed Ahmed.

Both these denominational universities are directly under the Government of Inida. It must also be noted that both the Universities are open to students of all castes and creeds.

(*e*) *DACCA*.—A unitary, teaching, and residential university was established at Dacca in 1920. Its history is best told in the words of the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22 :—

"It has been said that the Dacca University owes its birth to local and communal patriotism. The decision announced in December 1911 to revise the partition of the provinces of north-eastern India gave rise to grave apprehensions among the Mussulman community, who constituted the majority in the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, that their educational progress would suffer by the coming change. In response to an expression of that apprehension made by a deputation in January 1912, the Viceroy—Lord Hardinge—promised to found a new university that would be open to all sections of the community and for the benefit of all. The Government of India later announced their intention that the Dacca University should be a model institution of a new kind—a unitary residential university. The first plans for the new university were drawn up by a Committee presided over by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Nathan. The execution of these plans was delayed for various causes, including the war, until the Calcutta University Commission had published their report in 1919. The Commissioners urged that the university should be established without delay and the Dacca University Act was passed in 1920....

The University of Dacca was the first to adopt the revised form of constitution recommended by the Calcutta University Commission. Since this constitution with modifications has been adopted in all subsequent university legislation, a short

description of it is necessary. In places of the Senate and Syndicate of the older universities, whose constitution and functions were described in the last Quinquennial Review, there are three main university bodies:—

(*i*) A large body called the Court, on which are represented the chief interests of the community, either by election or by nomination. The functions of the Court are to make statutes and to pass recommendations on the financial accounts and the annual report, submitted by the Executive Council. They also have power to cancel ordinances made by the Executive Council, if a majority of two-thirds decides on such cancellation. Thus, every important change made in the University is brought to the notice of the Court and can be discussed by them, while in matters of university legislation they have important powers not only of discussion but of check.

(*ii*) The Executive Council, in whom the executive authority in regard to finance and university appointments and also all residual powers are vested.

(*iii*) The Academic Council, who are responsible for the control, general regulation and maintenance of standards of instruction, education and examination within the University, and for the initiation of all changes in academic matters and without whose consent no changes in such matters can be made. The Academic Council consists almost entirely of university teachers and is designed so as to secure the representation of the various departments of study undertaken by the university."

(*f*) *LUCKNOW.*—A university was established at Lucknow in 1920. Its constitution and organization closely follows the model of the Dacca University.

(*g*) *OSMANIA.*—The Osmania University was established at Hyderabad (Deccan) by H. E. H. the Nizam in 1918. It holds a unique place among the universities of India because the medium of instruction in the University is Urdu and not English.

In addition to the incorporation of the seven universities mentioned above, Government also reconstituted the Allahabad University on the Dacca model in 1921, with this important difference that in addition to the teaching and residential university at Allahabad there was an external side comprising a number of colleges situated in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Central India and Rajputana. These colleges were formerly *affiliated* to the University; but under the Act of 1921, they came to be known as *associated* colleges.

7. **First Government Grants to Universities.** Prior to 1904, Government did not give any grants-in-aid to any university except the Punjab which received an annual grant of about Rs. 30,000 because it conducted the Oriental and Law Colleges. No grant was also felt to be necessary as the only items of expenditure in a university were a small office establishment and examinations. No money was spent even on the payment of travelling expenses of the Fellows who were expected to attend the meetings at their own cost. The total expenditure of a university, therefore, was easily met from the examination fees and often a surplus was left over.

Circumstances were changed by the Act of 1904. Meetings of the Senate and of the Syndicate were now more frequently held; the inspections of affiliated colleges had to be regularly carried out; additional staff had to be entertained to cope with the heavy routine work created by the Act and the regulations; and above all, something had to be done by way of implementing the hopes that were created by Section 3 of the Act. All this meant additional expenditure—a circumstance to which attention had already been drawn by the late

Mr. Gokhale in his speeches on the Bill. The Government of India announced, therefore, that they would make a grant of Rs. 5,00,000 a year for 5 years, for the improvement of collegiate education and universities. The first grant was sanctioned in 1904-05 and of the total amount of Rs. 25 lakhs so given, Rs. 11½ lakhs were allotted to universities for administration, inspection, travelling charges, the purchase of land and erection of buildings, and Rs. 13½ lakhs were given to Provincial Governments for improvement of colleges. Although the grant of Rs. 5,00,000 a year was originally meant for five years only, it was later made a permanent recurring grant and a sum of Rs. 1,35,000 out of it was assigned for university education. Over and above this, Government, in 1911-12, sanctioned a non-recurring grant of Rs. 16,00,000 and a recurring grant of Rs. 2,55,000 for university education. The total recurring grant to universities thus came to Rs. 3,90,000 a year and was distributed as follows among the various provinces :—

University		*Grant*
Madras	Rs.	90,000
Bombay	„	55,000
Calcutta	„	1,15,000
Allahabad	„	85,000
Punjab	„	45,000
TOTAL	Rs.	3,90,000

8. **Payment of Additional Grants to Universities.** This policy of liberal financial assistance was continued in the quinquennium of 1912-17, when non-recurring grants to the tune of Rs. 43 lakhs were sanctioned as under :—

University	Amount of non-recurring grant sanctioned in 1912-17
1. Calcutta	Rs. 22,00,000
2. Bombay	„ 5,00,000
3. Madras	„ 7,00,000
4. Punjab	„ 4,00,000
5. Allahabad	„ 5,00,000
TOTAL	Rs. 43,00,000

Moreover, the recurring grant paid to the Calcutta University for the Minto Chair of Economics since 1910 was raised from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 13,000 in 1913. A grant of Rs. 12,000 a year was also sanctioned in 1914-15 to the Bombay University for instituting a Chair of Economics and Sociology. Annual recurring grants of Rs. 1,00,000 each were sanctioned for the Benares and Aligarh Universities. Large non-recurring grants were also sanctioned for the newly created universities. It may be pointed out that in 1900-01, the only Government grant to universities was that of Rs. 29,380 paid to the Punjab University and the total expenditure of the Universities was as under:—

University	Total expenditure
1. Calcutta	Rs. 2,10,455
2. Madras	„ 1,91,688
3. Bombay	„ 1,15,541
4. Allahabad	„ 49,184
5. Punjab	„ 1,54,435
TOTAL	Rs. 7,21,303

It is interesting to compare this with the following table of total expenditure in 1921-22:—

Province	Expenditure from				Total Expenditure
	Govt. funds	Board funds	Fees	Other sources	
Madras	85,480	...	3,28,245	54,629	4,68,354
Bombay	67,000	...	2,46,612	58,172	3,71,784
Bengal	8,65,132	...	12,65,218	3,87,540	25,17,890
United Provinces	6,84,673	...	2,19,131	22,59,982	31,63,786
Punjab	2,84,400	...	3,22,803	...	6,07,203
Bihar and Orissa	64,927	...	1,08,762	1,07,581	2,81,270
Central Provinces and Berar ...	...	...	...	...	...
Assam	...	...	...	...	...
North-West Frontier Province ...	...	75	...	...	75
Minor Administration ...	2,862	...	...	...	2,862
Total ...	20,54,474	75	24,90,771	28,67,904	74,13,224

9. **Teaching Work done by the Universities (1905-21).** As may be easily anticipated, the large financial resources which the universities came to possess due to Government grants and improvement in the revenue from other sources, not only enabled them to erect buildings and maintain or expand libraries and laboratories, but also to undertake teaching activities. Of the twelve Indian universities that existed in 1921, five were purely teaching universities. The University of Allahabad, as has been pointed out above, was a teaching as well as an affiliating university. The remaining six universities were mainly of an affiliating type although they undertook some teaching work also.

This teaching work of the affiliating universities took one or more of the following three forms :—

(*a*) organization of special series of lectures by eminent men of learning, invited to visit the university from other parts of India or from abroad, or

(*b*) institution of university chairs in certain subjects, or

(*c*) the establishment of honours schools or post-graduate classes directly conducted by the university.

The delivery of courses of lectures by distinguished scholars was a particular feature of the work of the Calcutta, Madras, and Punjab Universities. Chairs in various subjects such as Sociology, History, Economics, etc., were also established by several Indian universities. The Punjab University organized the system of Honours Schools in which the teaching was controlled by a whole-time officer of the university entitled "the Dean of University Instruction" and where an attempt

was made "to give an improved type of instruction, with some personal contact between teacher and pupil and lesser recourse to lectures and text-books, to the abler minority among the students in the belief that this improved teaching, though in the first instance limited to a minority, will in the long run react on the spirit and methods of teaching throughout affiliated colleges of the University."[1] Similarly, the Calcutta University organized a post-graduate department and took over to itself all teaching for the M.A. except in a few colleges in the mofussil.

It is now acknowledged on all hands that the best type of university organization is that of a unitary, teaching, and residential university and that the efforts of Government as well as of the public must be directed to the creation of as many universities of this type as possible. But in a vast and poor country like India, the creation of new residential and teaching universities cannot be very rapid; and the affiliating type of university will be indispensable for a long time to come. Indeed, there are many who believe that in this land of distances and poverty, the affiliating university can never be dispensed with. Be that as it may, the teaching work that was undertaken by the affiliating Indian universities at this period was certainly a hopeful sign. Although it could not be a substitute for a unitary teaching university, it had an undoubted value in improving the tone of instruction in the affiliated colleges.

10. **Position of Universities in India in 1921-22.** We shall close this Chapter with the following table which gives an idea of university education in India as it was in 1921-22 :—

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1917-22, p. 62.

University	Faculties	No. of Colleges or Departments	No. of Students	Remarks
1. Calcutta	A., Sc., L., M., Eng. ...	49	23,044	The Delhi University had 3 Colleges with 706 Students.
2. Bombay	A., Sc., L., M. ...	21	8,493	
3. Madras	A., Sc., L., M., Eng. ...	73	12,653	
4. Punjab	A., Sc., L., M., Ag., Com., O.	35	7,372	
5. Allahabad	A., Sc., L., M., Com. ...	35	6,445	
6. Mysore	A., Sc. ...	5	1,050	
7. Benares Hindu ...	A., Sc., L., Th., O. ...	5	1,469	
8. Patna	A., Sc., L., Ed. ...	13	2,417	
9. Osmania	A., L., Th. ...	1	345	
10. Aligarh Muslim ...	A., Sc., L., Th. ...	3	702	
11. Lucknow	A., Sc., L., M., Com. ...	5	632	
12. Dacca	A., Sc., L. ...	3	1,030	
	Total ...	248	65,652	

Abbreviations:—A. = Arts; Sc. = Science; L. = Law; M. = Medicine; Ed. = Education; Eng. = Engineering; Ag. = Agriculture; Com. = Commerce; Th. = Theology; O. = Oriental learning.

Chapter XIII

SECONDARY EDUCATION

(1854-1902)

A SPECIAL feature of the period, 1854-1921, was the rapid growth of Secondary Education as compared with that of Higher or Primary Education. When the Despatch of 1854 was received, schools teaching English were just under way, and an account of these has already been given in Chapters V and VI. Detailed statistics are not available, but it will be seen from the statistics given in Chapter IX that the total number of schools teaching English was very small and the pupils studying in them numbered a few thousand only.

The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, emphasized the development of secondary education. While admitting that the attempts of Government in the past had been directed, more or less, to the highest education of a few, it stated that, in future, efforts should be made to extend "far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge of a less high order, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life." With a view to realising this end, the Despatch recommended the establishment, in every district, of "schools—whose object should be not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life."

During the next thirty years, the number of secondary schools increased considerably. The demand for English education was now spreading, chiefly because of the fact that the capacity to speak, read and write English opened the door to lucrative employment under Government. This demand was met not only by the new schools opened by Government and missionary bodies, but also by the efforts of educated Indians themselves who now began to enter the field of educational activities and to start private secondary schools.

Then came the report of the Indian Education Commission which laid great stress on the encouragement of private enterprise generally in all branches of educational activities, but particularly in the field of secondary education. This view was accepted by the Provincial Governments with the result that during the next forty years, the total number of secondary schools in British India alone increased to 7,530 with an enrolment of 11,06,803 scholars in 1921-22! It is also interesting to note that most of these new schools were private institutions conducted by Indians themselves.

This growth in the numbers of schools and pupils was, however, not an unmixed blessing. Owing to mistakes of commission and omission, the system of secondary education in India took a wrong direction in several matters and developed defects of a serious type. Amongst the more important of these defects may be mentioned the domination of the Matriculation, the large amount of time which had to be devoted to the study of the English language, and the lack of a varied syllabus at the upper secondary stage for training pupils for different walks of life. By 1921, the questions regarding the removal of these defects and the reorganization of

secondary education had already come to dominate educational discussions.

In this Chapter we shall trace these developments in secondary education during the period, 1854 to 1902. The events of the period 1902 to 1921 will be narrated in the next Chapter.

2. **Expansion of Secondary Education (1854-82).** Soon after the receipt of the Despatch of 1854, an era of rapid multiplication of secondary schools set in. The lead in this movement was naturally taken by the newly created Departments of Public Instruction whose task was greatly facilitated by the growing demand for English education and the larger grants placed at their disposal by the Government of India. Between 1854 and 1870, therefore, there was a large increase in the number of secondary schools directly conducted by Government. In the latter year, there was a slight change in Government policy. Successive reviews of the progress of education in India which were undertaken by Government in the period 1865-70, emphasized the need of extending elementary education among the masses, with the result that the force of Government effort for the spread of secondary education slackened to some extent. But in spite of this slackening, the number of Government secondary schools in 1882 was 1,363 (with 44,605 pupils)[1] as against 169 (with 18,335 pupils) in 1854.

There is, however, no need to regret this slackening of effort on the part of Government. The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, laid great stress on the system of grant-in-aid. Every Provincial Government, therefore, framed rules of grant-in-aid and made considerable

[1] *Indian Education Commission,* General Table 1a.

budget provision for assisting private enterprise. Consequently, private secondary schools were opened and began to multiply at a very rapid rate and, within a few years, more than made up for the slackening in Government effort.

One feature of this period deserves special notice. In the early years following Wood's Despatch, private enterprise was mostly confined to the Missionaries. But within a few years, Indians themselves entered the field in such large numbers that by 1882, the schools under Indian management constituted the bulk of private enterprise. The following statistics for the year 1881-82, taken from the Report of the Indian Education Commission (General Table No. 5) will be found interesting from this point of view:—

Statement showing the number of private secondary schools in 1881-82

Province	Under Indian Managers		Under other than Indian Managers	
	No. of English Schools	Amount of grants paid	No. of English Schools	Amount of grants paid
		Rs.		Rs.
Madras	698	88,284	418	85,289
Bombay	13	14,653	40	37,343
Bengal	582	1,98,911	23	16,420
N. W. Province & Oudh ...	17	18,643	104	78,571
Punjab	2	1,522	118	51,471
Central Provinces ...	4	4,053	9	11,126
Assam	25	10,771	45	6,657
Total ...	1,341	3,36,837	757	2,86,877

N.B.—The figures of English schools given here include, in some Provinces, the primary departments of these schools also.

It will be seen that, in Bengal, most of the aided English schools were conducted by Indians themselves.

In Madras, Indian private enterprise had just got the better of missionary activities which, in that Province, had spread far more widely than in any other. It was well under way in Bombay and was just beginning to develop in the other Provinces. But it is to be noted that, even at this early date, the English schools conducted by Indians were nearly twice as many as those conducted by all other non-government agencies put together.

3. **Defects of Secondary Education.** As stated already the expansion of secondary schools was not an unmixed blessing. Even during these early years the system of secondary education developed serious defects such as the absence of vocational courses, the dominance of the study of English, and lack of trained teachers. As most of these defects became greatly accentuated in later years, the study of their origin will be of some interest.

(*a*) *Absence of Vocational Courses at the Secondary Stage.*—The Despatch of 1854 had explicitly stated that the instruction in secondary schools should be "practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life", and desired that the new schools which it proposed to establish should "provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life." This clearly shows that the Despatch contemplated the provision of vocational or pre-vocational instruction at the secondary stage.

But this salutary advice was neglected by later administrators. Even as late as 1882, the Indian Education Commission found that it was only in the Province of Bombay that some provision was made for vocational

education by the grant of a few scholarships of Rs. 4 per month to children of agriculturists in order to encourage them to attend model farms connected with High Schools, for instruction in practical agriculture. Barring this solitary exception, the high schools throughout India had been regarded " not only or chiefly as schools for secondary instruction, intended for pupils whose instruction will terminate at that stage, but in a much greater degree —it may almost be said exclusively—as preparatory schools for those who are to become students of the university." [1]

This unhappy result was due to three causes. In the *first* place, most of the pupils of the secondary schools of those days belonged to the educationally advanced classes of society whose main object was to obtain employment under Government because it secured, at one stroke, a black-coated profession, a status in society, and economic improvement. They flocked to the secondary schools, not with a view to being trained for the " various stations in life "—but with the definite objective of passing the Matriculation which, in those days, opened the door to service under Government. To the more ambitious of these, the passing of the Matriculation meant an entrance to the University from where they could get into higher and more lucrative posts under Government. Hence these classes of society came to attach an exaggerated importance to the Matriculation examination and to a proficiency in English. This demand for the Matriculation certificate was bound to be reflected in the work of secondary schools—all the more so because the bulk of secondary schools came, in the course of time, to be managed by the educationally advanced

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 219.

classes themselves. *Secondly,* Government itself had not taken any steps to provide vocational education in secondary schools. In those days, the schools conducted by Government were considered to be "model" institutions and usually set the standard for private entreprencurs to follow; and as Government schools made no provision for vocational courses, it was hardly to be wondered if private schools did not do so. *Thirdly,* most of the newer schools that came into existence did not have adequate financial resources at the start, and hence they usually confined their work to the course of liberal education leading to the Matriculation because it required the least equipment and expenditure. One need not, therefore, be surprised if the average secondary school of 1882 meant merely a place for preparing candidates for the Matriculation examination.

(*b*) *Neglect of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction.* The Despatch of 1854 had visualised secondary schools teaching through the mother-tongue, in addition to those that taught through the medium of English. This aspect of the recommendations of the Despatch is so important that the words of the Despatch itself will bear quotation:—

> "We include in this class of institutions those, which, like the zillah schools of Bengal, the district Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools of Bombay, and such as have been established by the Raja of Burdwan and other private gentlemen in different parts of India, use the English language as the chief medium of instruction; as well as others of an inferior order, such as the tehseelee schools in the North-Western Provinces, and the Government Vernacular Schools in the Bombay Presidency, whose object is, however imperfectly it has been as yet carried out, to convey the highest class of instruction which can now be taught through the medium of the vernacular language.

We include these Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the media for imparting instruction differ. The knowledge conveyed is no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the Anglo-Vernacular than in the Vernacular Schools ; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient, as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of school-masters is raised up, able to impart a superior education. "

Had these sentiments been steadily kept in view by later administrators, there would have grown up a system of high schools teaching through the modern Indian languages and, in course of time, even universities teaching through them could have come into existence. But unfortunately, the policy of the Education Department at this time was apparently not favourable to the cultivation of the modern languages of India ; and instead of trying to *eliminate* the difference that existed between Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools as the Despatch expected them to do, the Departments introduced reforms that tended to *widen* this difference. This will be clearly seen from the provincial schemes of secondary and primary education (as they existed in 1882) which have been noticed below :—

(*i*) In *Madras,* the primary course was spread over seven standards *in which English could be taught as a subject from Standard III onwards.* A pupil could join an English school after passing Standard II and had to study for seven years to complete the High School course. During the first three years of this course, English was taught as a subject and it was used as a medium of instruction in the next four years.

(*ii*) In *Bombay,* the primary course was spread over six years. *No English was taught in the primary course.* A pupil

could join a secondary school after passing primary fourth standard. The secondary course was spread over seven years, in the first three of which English was taught as a subject and then used as a medium of instruction during the next four years.

(*iii*) In the *Central Provinces*, the primary course was spread over *five* years. It consisted of *six* standards of which the first two occupied only half a year each. A pupil could join a secondary school after Standard III, i.e., two years' education. The secondary course lasted for *six* years (four years in a middle school and two in a High School) and English was the medium of instruction *usually* in middle schools and *necessarily* in High Schools.

(*iv*) In *Bengal and Assam*, the primary, the middle, and the High School courses were all *parallel and independent* and not *consecutive* as in the provinces discussed so far. A pupil could at once join any of these schools from the very beginning but not pass from one to the other. The primary course was spread over five years, middle course over seven, and high school over nine years. In primary schools, no English was taught. Middle schools were of two types—English and non-English. In the former of these, English was taught as a subject in the upper classes. In the High Schools English was taught from the lowest class and was generally used as a medium of instruction.

(*v*) In the *N.-W. Provinces and Oudh*, the primary course was spread over *seven* years, and the High School course was spread over *nine* years. In the High Schools, English was taught for five years as a subject and then used as a medium of instruction. Both the courses were parallel and independent.

(*vi*) In the *Punjab*, the scheme of studies was as under:—

	Non-English Department	*English Department*
High School	V	V
	IV	IV
Middle School	III	III
	II	II
	I	I

	Non-English Department	English Department
Primary School, Upper Division	V	V
	IV	IV
Primary School, Lower Division	III	
	II	
	I	

No English was taught in the lower division of Primary schools. In the higher classes of English schools, English was taught as a language, in addition to a course of study which was common to both classes of schools; and in primary section mathematics and some other subjects were taught instead of English.

A careful analysis of the above facts will show that—

(*i*) the study of English as a language was begun (except in Bombay) when the pupil was not properly grounded in his own mother-tongue.

(*ii*) English was taught *as a subject* (except in most high schools of Bengal) *before* it was used *as a medium of instruction.* But the period of its study as a subject was too short to give the pupil a mastery over the language which is essential for its successful use as a medium of instruction. In fact, the Indian Education Commission pointed out that English was used as a medium of instruction, not because the pupil had mastered it as a subject, but because the school managers were eager to give the pupil the largest possible opportunities of reading, speaking, and writing English so that he might obtain a command over the language itself.

(*iii*) In the high school stage, English was invariably used as a medium of instruction.

(*iv*) Except in the Punjab, the highest education that could be obtained through the mother-tongue was limited to the middle stage, and the idea of high schools

teaching through the mother-tongue seemed to have been given up. Even in the Punjab, there was only one high school teaching through the mother-tongue (at Jalandar) and three other high schools had primary sections. But the fact that there were only four high schools imparting instruction through the mother-tongue as against 181 teaching through English shows how the system had drifted far from the ideals of Wood's Despatch.

In short, the conclusion becomes inevitable that the more important object of the secondary course of 1882 was to spread *a knowledge of English* and *not* to spread "*European knowledge of a less high order*" through English as well as through the mother-tongue as laid down in the Despatch of 1854.

(*c*) *Lack of Trained Teachers.*—The arrangements for the training of secondary teachers were far from satisfactory during this period. In the whole of India there were only two training institutions for secondary (English) school teachers—one at Madras (established in 1856) and the other at Lahore (established in 1880). The training school at Madras consisted, in 1882, of 8 graduates, 3 who had passed the first year examination in Arts, and 18 matriculates. The College at Lahore admitted 30 students of any qualification higher than that of a first year examination in Arts. There was no practising school and in spite of the difference in attainments of the students, they were all treated as one class and put through the same course. It is, therefore, easy to see that only a very small number of teachers in secondary schools could have been "trained" even in the restricted sense that the above picture of the then training institutions suggests.

4. **The Indian Education Commission, 1882.** We now come to the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. As may be inferred from the foregoing narrative, the Commission had to deal with two main problems :

(*i*) Firstly, the Commission had to recommend the ways and means for a rapid expansion of secondary education. Although secondary schools had increased considerably between 1854 and 1882, it was clear that the rate of expansion was not fast enough from the point of view of the nation ; and

(*ii*) Secondly, the Commission had to suggest measures for the removal of various defects in the system of secondary education some of which have been noticed above.

5. **Recommendations of the Commission regarding Expansion of Secondary Education.** On the first issue, the Commission held the view that Government ought to withdraw from the field of direct management of secondary schools and encourage private enterprise as largely as possible. It was of opinion that the relation of the State to primary was different from that to secondary education. It was a duty of the State to provide primary education, recourse being had to statutory compulsion if the people showed unwillingness to be educated. Consequently, it was the duty of the State to provide primary schools, not only in places where the people asked for them, but in all places where they were necessary. Secondary education, on the other hand, did not have such a paramount claim upon the State. Government was not under an obligation to provide it directly although it was bound to encourage all such efforts as the people would make to educate themselves. *The Commission, therefore, recommended that secondary*

education should, as far as possible, be provided on the grant-in-aid basis and Government should withdraw as early as possible, from the direct management of secondary schools.

This fundamental recommendation—entirely in keeping with the Despatch of 1854—raised the following issues :—

(*a*) What was to be the future of secondary schools already conducted by Government ?

(*b*) What was to be done in places where the people were not sufficiently advanced or wealthy to maintain secondary schools on the grant-in-aid basis ?

With regard to the first question, the Commission recommended that the goal of Government effort should be to transfer gradually all Government secondary schools to a suitable non-Government agency, provided that adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency were forthcoming. With regard to the second question, the Commission held that the above recommendation did not prohibit the "establishment by Government, in exceptional cases, of secondary schools in places where they may be required in the interests of the people, and where the people themselves may not be advanced or wealthy enough to establish such schools for themselves with a grant-in-aid.[1]" But the Commission emphasised that the duty of Government was restricted only to the establishment of one efficient high school, Government or aided, in each district and that Government should thereafter leave the further expansion of secondary education in that district to the private effort of the people themselves. *Secondly,* the Commission

[1] *Report,* p. 254.

recommended that Government should give every encouragement to private enterprise and suggested several methods of doing so. As these referred to private institutions of all grades—collegiate, secondary and primary—they have already been given in detail in Chapter IX. It may be pointed out, however, that these recommendations were admirably suited for expansion of private enterprise in secondary education, particularly on the part of Indians themselves.

Thirdly, the Commission made a very careful study of the systems of grant-in-aid to secondary schools as they existed in the provinces of British India and suggested several important reforms. As the problem is of great importance, we shall discuss it at some length.

6. **Methods of Grant-in-aid to Secondary Schools.** The first thing that strikes a student of education is the way in which the grant-in-aid system of India arose out of those of England. It will be recalled that the first Parliamentary grant for education was made in 1833. The grants were at first confined to buildings for schools, but later on grants were also added for *specific objects* such as payment of stipends for pupil teachers, rewards to school-masters for training pupil teachers, gratuities to school-masters for zeal and success in teaching, salary grants to trained teachers, books and maps for teachers and pupils, salary grants for assistant teachers, etc. The only institutions exempted from this system were the training institutions for teachers. In 1853, Parliament introduced the system of capitation grants—the amount of grant varying from 3*s*. to 6*s*. per scholar, per year. In 1861, the system of 'payment by results', i.e., the system of assessing grants on the examination results of pupils was introduced. The subsequent history of grant-in-aid in England in the nineteenth

century is one of gradual discontinuance of the system of 'payment by results' and the consolidation of most of the grants for specific objects into one general grant for maintenance.

These developments in England had their repercussions on the system of Grant-in-aid as it was evolved in India. Thus we find that the Despatch of 1854 emphasises the value of the grants for specific objects and observes :—

> "The same course should be adopted in India which has been pursued with obvious advantage by the Committee of Council here, namely, to appropriate the grants to *specific objects*, and not (except perhaps in the case of normal schools) to apply them in the form of simple contributions in aid of the general expenses of a school."

The first Grant-in-aid rules of Provincial Governments followed these directions given by the Despatch of 1854. But when they were revised a few years later, the principle of 'payment by results' was copied from the English model and by 1881-82, each Province developed its own characteristic method of Grant-in-aid to secondary schools. These may be broadly classified under the following three systems which were used either separately or in combination with one another :—

(*i*) *The salary-grant system.* This system was in force in the province of Madras only and was applied mainly to institutions which afforded an advanced instruction and which were managed by associations or persons of "approved standing". Its advantages and disadvantages were thus described by the Indian Education Commission :—

> "It tends to ensure efficiency by inducing managers to employ teachers who have proved by success at an examination that they have acquired a certain amount of knowledge and some fitness for imparting it to others. It is likely, in course

of time, to provide a body of thoroughly trained teachers and to secure that ultimately the great and important work of education will not be left to men incompetent to perform it... Again, the system leaves the greatest freedom to managers, as regards the choice of text-books and all other points in the internal economy of schools, and so supplies a strong inducement to private educational effort... If the system is properly administered, the schools under it have the fullest scope for free development. There is a minimum of departmental interference. The Inspector simply has to see that the pupils are well taught, that they know what they profess to know, that their general intelligence is cultivated, and that the discipline is good. Under this system, too, there is little danger of information being confounded with education. Neither teachers nor pupils are compelled to work under high pressure to prepare for examinations, nor are they tempted to give their main attention to getting up the special points that are most likely to be noticed by the Inspector on his visit. It removes also any opposition of interests between managers and the Department. Under it, the only interest of both alike is that the school should be improved and should prosper. The Inspector is not predisposed by any desire for economy to take an unfavourable view of the condition of the school, since the grant it will receive does not directly depend on the judgment that he passes. The system also provides in a natural and easy manner for the growth of institutions. If managers wish to open an additional class and the Department is convinced that it is really needed, a duly certificated teacher is employed and an additional grant of the fixed proportion of his salary is bestowed. The system tends also to give stability to an institution; since the grant depends upon the quality of the staff, and not on the number of pupils or their success at examination, which even in the very best schools fluctuate considerably from year to year... On the other hand, the system has its disadvantages. There is danger under it of a school being content with mediocrity, since no pecuniary result depends upon excellence of any kind. It is, of course, understood that continued failure to produce satisfactory results will cause the grant to be withdrawn or reduced; but this is commonly too distant a prospect to have much practical influence. There is danger too of teachers being employed

nominally at high salaries, and getting in reality little more than that proportion of the nominal salary which is paid by the State."[1]

(*ii*) *The Fixed Period System.* According to this system which was applied to secondary schools in the whole of Northern and Central India, grants to schools were fixed for a term of years. "The great advantages of this system", said the Indian Education Commission,—

"are its simplicity and elasticity. No elaborate Code is necessary. Managers have only to state their case fully, and if funds are forthcoming they may learn the amount of aid they can rely on, without having to submit to the minute enquiries as to staff that the system of salary-grants requires, or to wait until their pupils have passed an examination, as is necessary under the system of payment by results. Under this system also it is possible to apportion the grant to the actual wants of the school with an ease and precision which are unattainable under a detailed code. Also it is possible to reduce the grant to a school that can thrive with lessened aid far more easily than under any more rigorously defined system, where no reduction of aid is possible without apparent or real infringement of the general rules laid down. Besides this, the system, if fairly and steadily administered, secures stability as much as the salary grant system, and like it, avoids the risk of placing managers and inspectors in antagonism. It avoids also most of the other risks, enumerated above, which constitute such serious drawbacks on the system of payment by results... The main disadvantage of the system is one that is hardly separable from its distinguishing advantage of simplicity and elasticity. We refer to its largely arbitrary character. Under it, the power of the Department in giving or refusing aid is scarcely subject to any practical limitation. Everything depends on administration. If the administrators be fair and sympathetic towards private effort, all goes well; but if otherwise, it must be extremely difficult for private managers to obtain redress."[2]

[1] *Report,* pp. 402-3.
[2] *Report,* pp. 411-2.

(*iii*) *Payment by Results System.* This system was applied to all secondary schools in Bombay and to a few secondary schools in Madras. The Commission pointed out that the system has several advantages such as the following:—

(*a*) it enables the inspector to apply praise or blame with an amount of firmness and decision impossible under any system that pays less attention to the examination of individual pupils;

(*b*) it insures that State aid is not wasted by being given where there were no educational results;

(*c*) it acts as a powerful stimulus to managers and teachers;

(*d*) it enables the department to get rid of many troublesome questions about the character and trustworthiness of the management;

(*e*) it enables the department readily to compare the results obtained in different schools and districts.

On the other hand, the system also has a number of disadvantages which may be summarised as under:—

(*a*) the test of examination results is uncertain owing to the variation of standards applied by inspectors, or by accidental absence of scholars, or accidental failure to show their real form under examination;

(*b*) the system tends to give most aid to managers who require it least and least to those who need it most;

(*c*) it tends to create antagonism between managers and inspecting officers;

(*d*) it crushes out variety in courses and standards of instruction;

(*e*) it makes examinations the main object of the thoughts, alike of pupils and of teachers.

A closer examination will show that most of the so-called advantages of the system are really illusory. The uncertainty of the test by the inspecting officers nullifies the first, second and fifth advantages mentioned above which are all based upon the assumption that the inspectors' tests are certain and infallible. The fourth argument is hardly one to which any importance will be attached, because it would now be considered the duty of the Department to *face* the "troublesome questions" and *not* to evade them. The third advantage is real and it is true that the system of payment by results *does* act as a powerful stimulus to managers and teachers. But it is also easy to see that this powerful stimulus is one which urges them to adopt bad methods of teaching. On the whole, the system of payment by results is more harmful than otherwise and its adoption is not generally in the best interests of education. The Indian Education Commission, as we saw in Chapter X, recommended that the system of payment by results should be abandoned in so far as grants to colleges were concerned. But it did not make the same recommendation with regard to the secondary schools: presumably because it believed that the 'results' of secondary schools may, with advantage, be taken into consideration while assessing grants-in-aid.

The Indian Education Commission made a careful study of all these systems of grant-in-aid and came to the conclusion that no system would suit the needs of the secondary schools in *all* the provinces of India and that it would, therefore, be desirable to leave each province free to adopt such system or such combination of them

as would best suit its local conditions. With this end in view, it recommended that—

(*a*) with the object of rendering assistance to schools in the form best suited to the circumstances of each province, and thus calling forth the largest amount of local co-operation, the grant-in-aid rules be revised by the Local Governments in concert with the managers of schools; and

(*b*) that in this revision, the rules be so defined as to avoid any ambiguity regarding the amount and duration of the aid to which an institution may be entitled, and the conditions of grants for buildings, apparatus and furniture.

7. **Recommendations of the Commission regarding Vocational Education.** We shall now turn to those recommendations of the Indian Education Commission which were directed towards the removal of the defects of the system of secondary education. To begin with, we find that the Commission gave considerable attention to the problem of improving secondary education and, particularly to that of introducing vocational courses at the upper secondary stage with a view to preparing pupils for various walks of life. It observed:—

"It is believed that there is a real need in India for some corresponding course which shall fit boys for industrial or commercial pursuits, at the age when they commonly matriculate, more directly than is effected by the present system. The University looks upon the Entrance examination, not as a test of fitness for the duties of daily life, but rather as a means of ascertaining whether the candidate has acquired that amount of general information and that degree of mental discipline which will enable him to profit by a course of liberal or professional instruction. In these circumstances, it appears to be the unquestionable duty of that Department of the State which has undertaken the control of education, to recognise the present demand for educated labour in all

branches of commercial and industrial activity, and to meet it so far as may be possible with the means at its disposal... What is now chiefly needed is variety; so that the educational system as a whole may be such as more fully to meet the needs of a complex state of society. Nor would the introduction of the proposed alternative course into high schools involve any great expenditure; for the bifurcation of studies need not take place until the student is within two years of the Entrance Examination—that is, until he has been eight or nine years at school. His studies in the middle department will be sufficiently practical to prepare him for those he will take up in the modern side, sufficiently liberal to fall in with those of the academical side. It may be added that, with the establishment of these schools, full recognition would be given to the salutary principle that the course of instruction in schools of every class should be complete in itself. The Madras Provincial Committee draws the attention to the fact that little more than half of those who pass the matriculation examination of that University proceed to the First Arts standards; and though the disparity is less conspicuous in other provinces—in Bengal, indeed, it is stated that more than 90 per cent of those who matriculate are admitted to colleges—yet it is probable that in all provinces the institution of the alternative standard would meet the popular wishes and answer a real need. *We, therefore, recommend that in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions; one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or non-literary pursuits.*"[1]

The Commission was fully aware that the proposed new courses would not become popular unless some methods of encouraging them were also devised. Various suggestions were put forward before the Commission. Some suggested the recognition of these courses by the university; others held that the Department could " give efficient help towards the establishment of such schools, by declaring them eligible for grants-in-aid, by instituting examinations to test the progress of pupils and giving

[1] *Report,* pp. 220-1.

certificates to those who pass"; still others suggested that success in these courses should be regarded as a preferential qualification for employment under Government. The Commission, however, was not prepared to accept any of these suggestions as the real solution of the problem. It said:—

> "The success of these schools will, however, practically depend upon the market value of the education which they give. It is because we believe that a practical or commercial education of a high standard would in time acquire a real and independent market value, irrespective of any adventitious aids, such as the recognition of the certificate as qualifying for a Government appointment, that we have advocated the establishment of this class of schools. It is in the last resort not to the University, nor to the Department, nor in any exclusive way to Government as the dispenser of patronage, that these schools must look for support. They will stand or fall according to the view which the employers of educated labour throughout the country may take of their capacity to give a suitable training to youths intended for practical occupations. In this point of view, much might be done to ensure the public acceptance of the standard if the Railway Companies, the Banks, and other commercial associations or firms were consulted as to the kind of education which in their opinion would be most useful to the class of men they require."[1]

But this idealistic attitude had to be given up for two practical considerations. Firstly, opportunities of service under the employers of educated labour mentioned by the Commission were neither so extensive nor so paying as those under Government; and secondly, the strong sentiment for Government service created in the intelligentsia during the previous fifty years had to be taken note of. The Commission, therefore, made the following recommendation:—

[1] *Report*, p. 221.

"At the same time, it is impossible to ignore the high value which the opinion of the country sets upon any certificate recognised as qualifying for admission to the public service. The Madras Provincial Committee quotes, as an accurate reflex of native opinion, a reply given by one of the witnesses to the effect that no education will be appreciated unless it looks to an examination qualifying for Government employment. We are, therefore, of opinion that recognition of this kind—not in an exclusive way, but merely to the same extent that is desirable in the case of equivalent standards of instruction—should be accorded to the alternative standard that we propose to establish... *We therefore recommend that when the proposed bifurcation in secondary schools is carried out, the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or if necessary by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses, be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service.* It will be understood that this Recommendation refers as a general rule rather to subordinate appointments, than to those offices of responsibility and emolument in which a high degree of intelligence is required, and for which a liberal education has been commonly thought necessary."[1]

8. **Recommendation of the Commission regarding the Training of Teachers in Secondary Schools.** Although the necessity and importance of training teachers in secondary schools is now accepted on all hands, it may be of interest to our readers to know that the question was still the subject of a controversy in England when the Indian Education Commission was appointed. One section of educationists advocated the practice of French normal schools which aimed "at giving the pupil thorough instruction much more in the subjects which he is intended to teach, and in those allied subjects which will enable him to teach them with greater fullness, insight and power, than in the methods of teaching them and the professional art of the teacher." The other section recommended the adoption of the German practice

[1] *Report*, pp. 221-2.

wherein great emphasis was laid on the study of the principles and practice of teaching.

It was but natural that the echoes of this controversy should be heard in India, and that Indian educationists also should be divided in their opinion on the subject. One section held that there was no need to train secondary teachers. It was argued that "the best way to teach a man to teach arithmetic, is to teach him arithmetic; and if he knows arithmetic, and you want to additionally qualify him to teach arithmetic, the most efficient way of expenditure of your extra tuition upon him will be to teach him algebra, rather than to talk to him about teaching arithmetic;" that an untrained teacher who has enthusiasm "in his work will in many cases acquire in the course of it, either by natural aptitude or by appropriate reading, an insight into the methods which lead to success in teaching;" that a year or two of service under an experienced headmaster would be more advantageous than study at a normal school; and that such knowledge of the theory and practice of teaching as was imparted in normal schools might be more easily had from books. This last objection was incidentally strengthened by the fact that, at that time, the normal schools for secondary teachers in India generally had no practising schools attached to them. The other section argued that without a grounding in the general principles of teaching, no amount of the knowledge of the subject alone can help a teacher of secondary schools to "engage and keep the attention of a whole class, to correct and check the wandering or listless scholar, to put together in their due order the materials of a lesson, and to select those illustrations which give life to instruction and arouse the interest of the pupil;" that those who argue that "a young man

who has sat under good professors for four years must have learned by force of example all that a normal school can teach as to the methods of instruction and class management" seemed to forget "that there is, or ought to be, a wide difference in the methods adopted in a class of school-boys and those pursued with young men at college"; and that normal training was a definite asset to every teacher although it could not be a substitute for natural aptitude or enthusiasm.

In such an unsettled state of affairs, it is not surprising that the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission were too tame to be really progressive. It recommended—

(*i*) that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should thereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided;

(*ii*) that graduates wishing to attend a course of instruction in a Normal school in the principles and practice of teaching be required to undergo a shorter course of training than others.

9. **Recommendations of the Commission regarding the Medium of Instruction.** In direct contrast with the recommendations given above, the observations of the Commission regarding the problem of medium of instruction were extremely disappointing. It said nothing regarding the use of the mother-tongue as the medium at the high school stage, and evidently favoured the use of English. The only problem that it considered was that of the medium of instruction at the *middle school stage,* and even here, it came to no definite conclusion. We may well quote the words of the Commission itself:—

"It is different, however, with the course and the pupils in middle schools. The question cannot be argued on the assumption that every pupil in a middle school goes on in due course to a high school; the reverse is notoriously the case. In Bengal, for example, it is known that the great majority of the pupils of middle English schools complete their education therein. Hence it becomes of the utmost importance to consider whether, to such pupils, the use of English or of the vernacular is most advantageous as the medium of instruction. For them, at any rate, it would appear that the employment of the vernacular is preferable. A boy would in such a case receive a sound vernacular education suited to his station in life, and he would acquire a useful, if elementary, knowledge of English in addition. To a boy so educated even an elementary knowledge of English is of unquestionable value, not only by reason of the mental training which its acquisition has involved, but also in regard to his business or other relations with the outer world. It may be added that the experience of the Education Department in Bengal offers a remarkable contrast with that of officers in the Central Provinces, as described in the passage quoted at the beginning of this paragraph. That which led the Bengal Department first of all to consider the feasibility of the change was the marked superiority, at the Entrance Examination, of those pupils who had joined the high school with vernacular, compared with those who came with English scholarships. In Calcutta, again, where the freest choice is open, both to pupils in selecting a school, and to managers in determining what constitution will make their school most popular, it is found that all the great middle schools of the city are purely vernacular; and that a large majority of the pupils in the Hindu school, excluding those who have been educated therein from the beginning, come from vernacular and not from English schools. We have dwelt at some length on the example of Bengal, because it is in that Province that the question has been most fully and frequently discussed, and the widest experience of opposite systems gained. We do not put forward any definite recommendation on this subject, but at the same time we commend its consideration, in the light of the observations above made, both to Local Governments and Departments, and in an equal degree to the managers of aided and unaided

secondary schools. It is a question in the decision of which much must depend on local circumstances; and hence the freest scope in dealing with it should be left to the managers of schools, whatever be the view which the Department in any Province may be disposed to adopt."[1]

10. Events of the Period 1882 to 1902. The action taken on the above recommendations of the Commission may be briefly narrated. To begin with, the Provincial Governments in India accepted the recommendations of the Commission regarding *expansion* and *encouragement of private enterprise.* Consequently, the twenty years following the report of the Commission saw a very rapid expansion of secondary education, especially through private schools. The following statistics will be found interesting from this point of view:—

—	1881-82	1901-02
1. No. of Secondary Schools	3,916	5,124
2. No. of Pupils in Secondary Schools ...	2,14,077	5,90,129

N.B.—Figures of both years exclude Burma but include some Indian States.

It has to be remembered that these statistics of secondary education have certain defects. For instance, the term secondary education is not interpreted in the same sense in all provinces. In Bombay and Madras, the pupils in upper primary classes are shown under "primary education" while those in Northern India are shown under "secondary education". Secondly, these figures also include, in some cases, the pupils in primary departments of high schools. These defects cannot be remedied now. But for purposes of comparison, they

[1] *Report,* pp. 210-11.

can be ignored and the above statistics taken as showing, in a general way, the progress of secondary education between 1882 and 1902.

It will be seen that the expansion of secondary education was very rapid, and that the number of pupils under instruction was more than doubled in twenty years. The Indian Education Commission had found that the progress of secondary education had been far more rapid than that of primary education in the period between 1854 and 1882, and had, therefore, recommended that Government should, in future, make strenuous efforts to spread primary education and leave the expansion of secondary education mainly to private enterprise. But as events turned out, secondary education again spread very rapidly between 1882 and 1902 and the cause of primary education continued to be neglected as before.

The problem of *grant-in-aid to secondary schools,* during this period, also deserves some notice. We have seen in Section 6 above, that the Indian Education Commission did not recommend any definite system of grant-in-aid for assessing the extent of financial assistance to secondary schools and that it left the Provinces free to develop systems of their own. Consequently, each Province evolved a characteristic system of grant-in-aid, and by 1902, the following methods for aiding secondary schools were in vogue: —

Madras.—High schools were aided under the system of salary grants, middle schools on the permanent list were aided under the system of fixed grants and middle schools on the temporary list were aided on the system of payment by results.

Bombay.—Schools whose permanent character had been established were aided under a system of fixed quinquennial grants and all other schools were aided under the system of payment by results.

Bengal.—Secondary schools were aided under a system of fixed grants based upon the needs and means of the school concerned.

United Provinces.—Each school received a fixed annual grant (i.e. Rs. 600 for a high school, Rs. 300 for an upper middle school and Rs. 200 for a lower middle school) which was supplemented by grants for average attendance and results.

Punjab.—Schools received a fixed grant based on net expenditure and various other grants for specific purposes.

Central Provinces.—Schools were aided on a system of fixed grants based on net expenditure.

As regards the action taken on the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission on the subject of *Vocational Education,* the following brief notes on provincial events will be found interesting :—

(*i*) The Madras Government organized, in 1889, an *upper secondary course* of two years which consisted of two parts—a compulsory part which included English, a second language, mathematics, history and geography, and an optional part which required the candidate to study any two subjects from an elaborate technical examination scheme. At the end of the course, an examination was held by the Commissioner for Government Examinations. Until 1902, only 49 candidates had passed the examination. It may be noted that this examination did not lead to admission to a university.

(*ii*) In Bombay, the *School Final Examination* was instituted in 1889. It was conducted by the University, but a candidate passing it was not entitled to an admission to the University. The course was of two years. In 1901-02, 1,162 pupils appeared for this examination while 3,634 appeared for the Matriculation. This popularity of the Bombay examination was due to the fact that Government recognised this examination but did not recognise the Matriculation as a qualification for the lower grades of public service.

(*iii*) The Bengal Government organized *Engineering and Commercial courses.* The Engineering course was simply a method of permitting boys who wished to enter an Engineering College to study some of the subjects of the college course in the school and thus enable them to shorten the period of studies at the college itself. The curriculum of the com-

mercial course included Mathematics, Modern English, History and Geography, Drawing and Practical Geography, and a Modern Indian Language. The course was introduced as late as in 1901-02.

(*iv*) The Allahabad University conducted, both for the Central and the United Provinces, a *School Final Examination* which also admitted the students to the University. The candidates appearing for the examination had to study English, Geography, History, Mathematics, and a Modern Indian language as compulsory subjects and any two of the following subjects :—

(1) Drawing ;
(2) Elementary Physics and Chemistry ;
(3) Agriculture and Surveying ;
(4) Book-keeping ;
(5) Political Economy.

In 1901-02, it was reported that the number of candidates going in for the examination was very small and showed little tendency to rise.

(*v*) The Punjab University organized an entrance examination in Science as a parallel course to the Matriculation. The passing of this examination entitled the student to admission to the University. The University also organized a *Clerical and Commercial Examination* which included English, Dictation and Caligraphy, Precis-writing and Correspondence, General and Commercial Geography, and Book-keeping and Commercial Arithmetic as compulsory subjects and one of the following as an optional subject :—

(1) Urdu,
(2) Native system of accounts,
(3) Short-hand writing.

The clerical and commercial examination did not admit to the University. In 1901-02, only 22 candidates appeared for the entrance examination and only 33 for the clerical and commercial examination.

Taking India as a whole, we find that in 1901-02, no less than 23,000 candidates appeared for the matriculation examination ; but the total number of candidates appearing for all the other alternative examinations was only about 2,000 of which about 1,200 belonged to Bom-

bay Province (where many candidates took both the examinations). It is quite evident, therefore, that the alternative courses did not become popular and that the Matriculation examination dominated the field of secondary education almost as exclusively in 1902 as it did in 1882.

Some progress was also achieved during this period in the direction of *Training Secondary Teachers.* In 1901-02, there were six training colleges (as against two in 1882) at Saidapet, Rajahmundry, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore and Jubbulpore. Every province in India had organised a certificate examination for teachers while the Madras University had instituted the L.T. degree. Besides the six colleges mentioned above, there were a number of schools for the training of secondary teachers. By 1902, Bombay was the only major province that had not organised a training institution for secondary teachers.

Unfortunately, there was hardly any achievement on the issue of *adopting the Modern Indian languages as the media of instruction* at the secondary stage. The idea of developing high schools teaching through the medium of the mother-tongue was definitely abandoned during this period and the chart on page 322*a* will show that in 1902, the highest education which a child could obtain through its mother-tongue was limited to the middle-school stage in *all* the provinces of British India. It has been pointed out earlier that the Indian Education Commission did not make any definite recommendation which would have decreased the dominance of English or helped the modern Indian languages to come into their own. Consequently, the dominance of English in the secondary course continued to grow; and by 1902, the

teaching of English came to be regarded as the *prime object* of the secondary course.[1] The study of the Indian languages was consequently neglected; the study of English was very frequently begun even before the pupil had obtained a good knowledge of his mother-tongue; and English was used as a medium of instruction so early in the secondary course that most of the time of the pupils had to be devoted to overcoming the difficulties created by the medium of instruction and examination rather than in mastering the liberal subjects in the curriculum.

In 1902, therefore, the system of secondary education in India presented a strange mixture of good and evil. On the one hand, there had been considerable expansion —particularly of Indian enterprise. On the other hand, there was a good deal of inefficiency and the existence of serious defects such as the lack of vocational education and the use of English as a medium of instruction. The educational reformers of the early twentieth century had, therefore, to choose between quality and quantity— between a further expansion of secondary education (on the lines recommended by the Indian Education Commission) on the one hand and an attempt at qualitative improvement (on the same principles as were adopted for the reform of collegiate education by the Indian Universities Act of 1904) on the other. They chose the latter alternative and during the twenty years between 1902 and 1921, Government concentrated its efforts on the improvement of the quality of secondary schools rather than on the increase in their number. The detailed history of this period will be dealt with in the next Chapter.

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, paras 305 and 371.

PRIMARY & SECONDARY COURSES IN INDIA 1902-1907.

Province	Classes		Course
MADRAS	Infant, I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII	standard.	Vernacular (Elementary).
	Infant., I, II, III, E IV, I, II, III, IV, V, VI	Form.	Secondary (English).
BOMBAY	Infant., I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII	standard.	Vernacular (Primary).
	E I, II, …	st.	High and Middle (English).
BENGAL	Infant, I, II, III, IV, V, VI	standard.	Middle (Vernacular).
	Infant., VIII c, VIII b, VIII a, E VII b, VII a, …	class.	High and Middle (English).
U. P.	Preparatory, I, II, III, IV, V, VI	class	Middle (Vernacular).
	Preparatory, I, II, E III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X	class.	High and Middle (English).
PUNJAB	I Infant., II, III, IV, V, I, II, III	class.	Middle (Vernacular).
	I Infant, II, III, E IV, V, I, II, III, IV, V	class.	High and Middle (English).
C. P.	Infant, I, II, III, IV, V, VI		Lower Secondary (Vernacular).
	Infant, I, II, III, IV, E I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII	class.	High and Middle (English).
ASSAM	VII b a, VI, V, IV, III, II, I	class.	Middle (Vernacular).
	IX b a, E VIII, VII, VI, V, IV, III, II, I	class.	High and Middle (English).

High Stage — Middle Stage — Primary Stage

English teaching began — E

English as medium of instruction.

Passage to English Schools.-----›

English as medium of instruction in some subjects.

CHAPTER XIV

SECONDARY EDUCATION—(*Contd.*)

(1902-1921)

As we saw in Chapter XI, an official movement for the reform of collegiate education began in India in the first decade of this century. The policy of *expansion* and *laissez faire to private enterprise* which had been in vogue since 1882 was abandoned; and instead, the Indian Universities Act of 1904 introduced a new policy which aimed more at the *improvement of existing institutions* than at an increase in their number. With this object in view, the Act laid down strict conditions for the granting of affiliation to colleges and provided for their periodical inspection by the Syndicate; and Government, on its part, decided to give grants-in-aid to private colleges in order to enable them to come up to the higher standards that were set by the Act. In short, the new policy stressed *quality* rather than *quantity* and preferred the method of *control* to one of *laissez faire*.

By 1902, the problem of secondary education presented several features which were also common to that of collegiate education. In both, a large and a rapid expansion had been achieved between 1882 and 1902; private institutions conducted by Indians formed the largest single group in both the fields; and just as there existed a number of colleges which depended mostly on fees and throve rather as "coaching institutions" than as "centres of learning", there were a number of

secondary schools whose efficiency was far from satisfactory. It was, therefore, natural that Government should adopt the same policy in secondary education as had been previously adopted in the field of collegiate education by the Indian Universities Act of 1904.

This new policy in secondary education which was put in practice during the years 1904-1908 has been categorically stated in Government Resolutions on Educational Policy issued in 1904 and 1913. It is necessary to analyse it fully and contrast it with the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission in order to understand the events of this period in their proper perspective.

2. **Control of Private Enterprise**. The new policy in secondary education had two important aspects—*control* and *improvement*. With regard to the first of these, it may be stated that Government tried to control private enterprise in a number of ways, the most important of which are noticed below :—

(*a*) *Recognition by the Department*.—It had been the opinion of the Indian Education Commission that the Departments should only prescribe the conditions on which grant-in-aid would be paid to private schools and that managers who did not ask for aid (or did not obtain it) should be left free to develop their schools along their own lines. Between 1882 and 1902, therefore, the Departments laid down fairly comprehensive codes for the guidance of *aided* institutions, but did not make any serious attempt to regulate *unaided* schools.[1]

[1] For this, *vide* the following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, para 187 :
"Of the 2,545 schools under private management, 1,785 receive aid from Government and 760 receive none. The Education Departments attach conditions to the grant of aid, and they have in practice always laid down fairly complete rules for the good government of schools as a condition of their receiving aid from

This view was given up in the early years of this century and it was now argued that Government ought to control *all* private secondary schools, whether aided or unaided. The *Government Resolution of* 1904 explains this policy in the following words:—

> "Whether these schools are managed by public authority or by private persons, and whether they received aid from public funds or not, the Government is bound in the interests of the community to see that the education provided in them is sound. It must, for example, satisfy itself in each case that a secondary school is actually wanted; that its financial stability is assured; that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted; that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard; that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number, and qualifications; and that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing school as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education. Such are the conditions upon which alone schools should be eligible to receive grants-in-aid or to send up pupils to compete for, or receive pupils in enjoyment of, Government scholarships; and schools complying with them will be ranked as 'recognised' schools."

A comparison of the above conditions of recognition with Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 (quoted in Chapter XI) will show that they are practically the same as the conditions prescribed for the affiliation of colleges. These conditions were soon incorporated in the Provincial Codes of grant-in-aid, and since 1904, the Departments began to prescribe the

public funds. The enactment of such rules has been effective where the inspecting staff was equal to the duty of enforcing them, where the amount of aid was worth having, and where the schools had resources from which to incur the necessary expense, and it has been ineffective where these three conditions were not satisfied. *But in the unaided schools there had, before the period under review, hardly been even a theoretical assertion of any control.*" (Italics ours.)

conditions of *recognition* and not of *grant-in-aid* as had been the practice in the past.

(*b*) *Recognition by the Universities.*—In addition to the recognition granted by the Department, secondary schools had to obtain recognition from a University if they desired to present pupils at the Matriculation examination conducted by that University. This could have been a great weapon of control; but prior to 1904, it had little or no value in practice. The regulations on the subject were generally defective; and even such regulations as existed were often loosely administered; the Universities had no agency for the inspection of schools, and consequently had to depend on the information supplied by the schools themselves; and as the University and the Department worked independently of each other in matters of recognition, a conflict was not infrequent. The following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1902-07, describes this anamolous position in these words:—

"Some control, hardly more than nominal, was previously exercised by some of the universities over the schools which were admitted to the privilege of recognition. In the Calcutta University, for instance, rules were laid down requiring a school to give certain information as to its management before it could be placed upon a list of recognised schools, and empowering the Syndicate to refuse recognition or to discontinue it, if the school were badly conducted or inefficient. In practice recognition was given indiscriminately, and the whole value of the privilege of recognition was undermined by the fact that if recognition were withheld it was open to the pupils of the schools to present themselves for Matriculation not indeed as school candidates, but as private candidates; but there was no disadvantage to them in appearing under this description except that they were not eligible for Government scholarships. In Bombay, on the other hand, the University kept no

list of recognised schools but admitted anybody to the Matriculation examination on production of a certificate of good character; or if he preferred to appear as a school candidate, with an additional certificate from the school-master merely certifying the fact of his attendance at school."[1]

Under the Indian Universities Act of 1904, regulations were framed by all universities for the recognition of schools. These regulations laid down the conditions which must be fulfilled by a 'recognised' secondary school and closed the backdoor by forbidding admission to the Matriculation of any privte candidates except those who had been really educated in private. Similarly, regulations were also framed with a view to minimising the conflict between the Department and the University.

(*c*) *Privileges of Recognition and Enforcement of Conditions of Recognition.*—As is quite well known, the mere prescription of conditions for recognition will hardly serve any purpose unless the privileges attached to recognition are so important as to make the schools desire it and unless an adequate machinery is created to enforce the conditions of recognition. Recognition by the University entitled a school to send pupils to the Matriculation. Similarly, it was now laid down that recognition from the Department will entitle a school to—

(*i*) receive a grant-in-aid from Government;

(*ii*) send up pupils for Government examinations or for the entrance examinations of Government Technical schools; and

(*iii*) receive pupils holding Government scholarships.

In order to encourage schools to seek for recognition by the Department and to enable them to come up to the higher standards that were now prescribed,

[1] Vol. I, p. 70.

Government decided to increase the grant-in-aid to private schools. Government also strengthened the inspecting staff for enforcing the conditions of recognition.

(*d*) *Prohibition of Transfers from Unrecognised to Recognised Schools.*—A careful analysis of the privileges of recognition will show that schools would value departmental recognition for purposes of grants and university recognition for purposes of the Matriculation. But both these inducements would have had no effect on schools which did not receive, or hope for, a grant-in-aid (and hence did not mind recognition by the Department being refused or withdrawn) or which did not teach up to the Matriculation (and hence did not come under the control of the University). As the number of such schools was fairly large, a method had to be devised for bringing them under control. This was done by prohibiting automatic transfers of pupils from unrecognised to recognised schools. As the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, observed :—

> "As the rules freely allowed transfers from unrecognised to recognised schools, there was a danger that a class of schools would spring up outside departmental supervision and control, and bound by no conditions with respect to fees, staff, equipment, and accommodation, which, at the same time, would be able to draft their pupils freely into recognised high schools. Such schools would not of course be aided, but there were signs that even without aid they might compete unfairly with recognised schools. Accordingly, in 1905, a rule was made, the effect of which was practically to refuse recognition to the transfer certificates of unrecognised schools, and this rule was incorporated in the educational rules of 1906. The rule was quite effective for the purpose ; it closed to the pupils of the unrecognised schools admission to a recognised school and consequently to the Matriculation and Upper Secondary Examination, and under present conditions no secondary school

which does not lead to one or other of these examinations can hope to succeed."[1]

Unrecognised secondary schools could not have hoped to thrive, or even exist for long, in the face of this disability. Under the new system, recognition ceased to be a mere *advantage* ; it became a *condition of existence* and enabled the Department to bring almost all the secondary schools under its effective control and supervision.

This new policy of control by the Department and University is thus explained and justified in the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy of* 1913 :—

> "The policy of Government is to rely so far as possible on private enterprise in secondary education. This policy, laid down in the Despatch of 1854, was restated and amplified by the Education Commission of 1882, which, while doubtful as to how far the process of withdrawal on the part of Government should be carried out, agreed that whatever degree of withdrawal from the direct provision of education might be found advisable, there should be no relaxation of indirect but efficient control by the State. The admixture of private management and State control was again emphasised in the Resolution of 1904. To this policy the Government of India adhere. It is dictated not by any belief in the inherent superiority of private over state management, but by preference for an established system, and, above all, by the necessity of concentrating the direct energies of the state and the bulk of its available resources upon the improvement and expansion of elementary education. The policy may be summarised as the encouragement of privately managed schools under suitable bodies maintained in efficiency by Government inspection, recognition and control, and by the aid of Government funds."

This view was criticized by Indian public opinion in much the same way in which the provisions of the Indian Universities Act were opposed. It was argued, for instance, that the attempt of Government to control private secondary schools was political in origin and

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1902-07, Vol. I, p. 71.

was really intended to curb the growth of national feeling and private Indian enterprise. The political aspect of the problem need not be considered in this book. From the educational point of view, it would be difficult to justify the new policy in its entirety. It is, of course, true that the old policy of *laissez faire* had outlived its utility, that it had often degenerated into licence, and that a more rigid control of private enterprise was generally needed. But all the same, many felt strongly that the new policy swung the pendulum far too much to the other side. Control is necessary, and, within limits, highly beneficial. But it can be easily exercised in excess and can thus lead to a rigid, mechanical, and uniform system. This development was often pointed out during this period and although, in certain cases, it may have arisen from other causes—such as lack of enterprise or initiative on the part of private entrepreneurs or lack of funds,—it was widely felt that it could be traced largely to the rigid grant-in-aid codes of this period and their administration.

3. **Improvement of Secondary Schools.** The *second* aspect of Government policy was the *improvement* of secondary schools in preference to an increase in their number. This has been well described in the following words by the *Government Resolution of* 1913 :—

"22. Subject to the necessities of variation in deference to local conditions the policy of the Government of India in regard to secondary English schools is—

(1) to improve the few existing Government schools by—

(*a*) employing only graduates or trained teachers;

(*b*) introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs. 40 per month and a maximum salary of Rs. 400 per month;

(*c*) providing proper hostel accommodation;

(*d*) introducing a school course complete in iteslf with a staff sufficient to teach what may be called the

modern side with special attention to the development of an historical and a geographical sense;

(*e*) introducing manual training and improving science teaching.

(2) To increase largely the grant-in-aid, in order that aided institutions may keep pace with the improvements in government schools on the above-mentioned lines, and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions where necessary.

(3) To multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers may be available for public and private institutions.

(4) To found government schools in such localities as may, on a survey of local conditions and with due regard to economy of educational effort and expense, be proved to require them."

This statement of policy consists of four parts: the second and third parts are the continuation of the policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission. The fourth part is merely a reiteration of an exception to the general policy of withdrawal—an exception which had been foreseen and admitted to be necessary by the Education Commission itself.[1] But the first part marks a clear departure from the policy recommended by the Commission. It was pointed out in Chapter IX that the Commission had recommended the withdrawal of Government from direct management of educational institutions. This recommendation had not been *acted* upon, but it still remained the declared official policy. The Government Resolution of 1913, however, definitely abandoned this policy and stated that it was the duty of Government to maintain its existing institutions as "models" to private enterprise.

The necessity and utility of this departure from the old policy was often challenged. To begin with, *it was pointed out that this policy came in the way of larger grants to private schools.* In an attempt to make "models" of its institutions, Government had to spend

[1] *Report*, p. 254.

large amounts on the *few* institutions maintained by it and consequently, the more numerous private secondary schools did not obtain that assistance from Government to which they were entitled on the strength of numbers and which was held out to them in para 22 (2) of the Government Resolution quoted above. In this connection, the following statistics of 1901-02 and 1921-22 will be interesting :—

TABLE I

Statement showing the increase in expenditure on secondary education between 1901 *and* 1921

Source		Direct Expenditure in thousands of rupees in the year		
		1901-02		1921-22
Provincial Revenue	...	19,17		1,67,85
Local Funds	...	8,29		29,37
Municipal Funds	...	5,08		13,54
Fees	...	60,77		1,93,04
All other sources:	...			
(*a*) Private	...	30,28	(*a*) endowments	19,46
(*b*) Public	...	3,26	(*b*) subscriptions	64,01
Total	...	1,26,85		4,87,27

N.B.—Statistics of both the years include Burma. Moreover, the statistics of 1901-02, include the following statistics of expenditure on secondary schools in Indian States :—

	Rs. in thousands.
1. Indian State Revenues	2,74
2. Local Funds in States	8
3. Municipal Funds in States	4
4. Fees	1,43
5. Other sources	6
TOTAL	4,35

TABLE II

Statement showing the expenditure on Government and Aided secondary schools in 1901-02 *and* 1921-22

—	No. of pupils	Direct Expenditure (in thousands of rupees) from						Total cost per pupil	Cost to Government per pupil
		Provincial Revenues	Local funds	Municipal funds	Fees	Endowments, subscriptions & other sources	Total	Rs.	Rs.
Government Institutions.									
(*a*) In 1901-02	52,524	6,48	1,26	27	8,24	143	17,69	34	12
(*b*) In 1921-22	1,13,072	60,70	8	21	23,95	37	85,31	75	54
Aided Institutions:									
(*a*) In 1901-02	2,99,112	11,49	3,28	1,99	29,79	20,35	66,90	22	4
(*b*) In 1921-22	6,38,811	80,17	8,32	5,14	1,13,34	64,68	2,71,65	43	13

N.B.—Statistics are for British India only including Burma.

It will be seen from Table I that the total expenditure on secondary education in British India increased from Rs. 1,22,50,000 in 1901-02 to Rs. 4,87,27,000 in 1921-22—an increase of Rs. 3,64,77,000 in twenty years. Towards this increase, Government contributed about Rs. 149 lakhs, fees contributed about Rs. 132 lakhs and the remainder came from other sources.

A careful analysis of the figures in Table II will show that the claims of private enterprise for a substantial grant-in-aid did not receive adequate attention during this period. In 1921-22, the position regarding secondary schools was as under:—

TABLE III

Management	Number of	
	Secondary Schools	Scholars
Government	542	1,13,072
Aided	4,711	6,38,811
Unaided	1,342	1,81,393

N.B.—Statistics include Burma.

It will be seen from Table I that Government expenditure increased by Rs. 149 lakhs between 1901 and 1921: Tables II and III will show that an amount of Rs. 60.70 lakhs was spent over 542 Government institutions which educated 1,13,072 pupils, while an amount of only Rs. 80.17 lakhs was spent over private schools which numbered 6,053 and educated 8,20,204 pupils. It is easy to see that there was some basis for the criticism that a large part of the additional resources was used in building up a few Government institutions as "models"

to private enterprise, rather than in giving liberal grants to private schools.

Moreover, Indian public opinion often questioned the expediency of maintaining "model" institutions. It was said, for instance, that the improvement of private schools was mainly a question of funds and that private schools remained inefficient because they did not have adequate financial resources and *not* because there was not a model institution to which they might look up for inspiration and guidance. It was, therefore, urged that Government should close its institutions and use the funds so saved for giving larger grants to private schools in order to enable them to increase their efficiency.

It is obvious, therefore, that the controversy was financial rather than educational. There was no questioning of the efficiency as such of Government institutions and the idea of maintaining "models" was not attacked on general grounds either. The whole of the non-official attack was directed against the fact that the policy which required the maintenance of costly Government institutions deprived the private schools of the funds which would otherwise have gone to them. The difficulty could have been overcome in any one of the following three ways:—

(*a*) Closure of Government schools;

(*b*) Conversion of Government schools into vocational schools so that the aspect of competition between them and private schools would disappear; and

(*c*) Provision of additional funds for grant-in-aid to private schools.

As we shall see later, some action in all these directions was taken by Government in the next period. But so far as the period under review was concerned, the problem remained highly controversial.

4. **Events of the Period 1902 to 1921.** We shall now turn to the narrative of the main events of the period 1902 to 1921. This may conveniently be done under the following four heads:—

(*a*) Provision of Trained Teachers;
(*b*) Provision of Vocational Courses;
(*c*) Improvements in the Teaching of English; and
(*d*) Expansion.

Let us deal with these topics seriatim.

5. **Training of Secondary Teachers.** Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the importance of training secondary teachers had come to be generally realised in England. It was, therefore, natural that a really progressive lead in this direction should be given by the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy* dated 11th March 1904. The following quotation from that Resolution speaks for itself:—

"38. If the teaching in secondary schools is to be raised to a higher level—if the pupils are to be cured of their tendency to rely upon learning notes and text-books by heart, if, in a word, European knowledge is to be diffused by the methods proper to it, then it is most necessary that the teachers should themselves be trained in the art of teaching. Even in England, divided counsels have till recent times prevented due progress from being made with this most essential condition of the reform of secondary education. The Indian Education Commission referred to the conflict of opinion upon this fundamental principle, and to the diversity of practice which prevailed; and, while hesitating to lay down a general rule requiring secondary teachers to be trained, recommended 'as an inadequate, but the only practicable alternative,' that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching should be instituted, success in which should hereafter be made a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school. Other and larger views of the subject are now in the ascendant, and the Government of India are glad to know that the principle of providing training institutions

for secondary teachers meets with universal acceptance among the Local Governments and Administrations. There already exist at Madras, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore, and Jubbulpore, institutions in which students are trained for service as teachers in the highest classes of secondary schools. Such students have either passed the Entrance or the Intermediate Examination of the University or are graduates. These institutions have done good work, and the time has come to extend the system to the provinces where it does not exist, notably Bombay, and to endeavour to create a supply of trained teachers which shall be adequate to the needs of the secondary schools throughout the country. Not only must the supply be increased, but the quality of the training given must be improved.

39. The details of the measures taken with the object are already engaging the attention of the various Local Governments. But the general principles upon which the Government of India desire to see the training institutions developed are these. An adequate staff of well-trained members of the Indian Educational Service is required, and for this purpose it will be necessary to enlist more men of ability and experience in the work of higher training. The equipment of a Training College for secondary teachers is at least as important as that of an Arts College, and the work calls for the exercise of abilities, as great as those required in any branch of the Educational Service. The period of training for students must be at least two years, except in the case of graduates, for whom one year's training may suffice. For the graduates the course of instruction will be chiefly directed towards imparting to them a knowledge of the principles which underlie the art of teaching, and some degree of technical skill in the practice of the art. It should be a University course, culminating in a University degree or diploma. For the others, the course should embrace the extension, consolidation and revision of their general studies; but the main object should be to render them capable teachers and no attempt should be made to prepare them for any higher external examination. The scheme of instruction should be determined by the authorities of the Training College and by the Education Department; and the examination at the close of it should be controlled by the same authorities. The training in the theory of teaching should be closely associated with its practice, and for this purpose good

practising schools should be attached to each college, and should be under the control of the same authority. The practising school should be fully equipped with well-trained teachers, and the students should see examples of the best teaching, and should teach under capable supervision. It is desirable that the Training Colleges should be furnished with a good library, and with a museum in which should be exhibited samples, models, illustrations, or records of the school work of the province. Every possible care should be taken to maintain a connection between the Training College and the school, so that the student on leaving the college and entering upon his career as a teacher may not neglect to practise the methods which he has been taught, and may not (as sometimes happens) be prevented from doing so and forced to fall into line with the more mechanical methods of his untrained colleagues. The trained students whom the college has sent out should be occasionally brought together again, and the inspecting staff should co-operate with the Training College authorities in seeing that the influence of the college makes itself felt in the schools."

This momentous declaration initiated a new era in the training of secondary teachers. By 1912, there were 15 training institutions for teachers in secondary schools which afforded instruction to nearly 1,400 students. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1913, marked a still further advance by stating that "eventually under modern systems of education no teacher should be allowed to teach without a certificate that he has qualified to do so." It also stated that Government wished to multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers might be available for public and private institutions. Consequently, the period 1904-21 marked a great advance in respect of the facilities for the training of secondary teachers. In 1921-22, the number of Training Colleges for secondary (English) teachers had increased to 13 as against 6 in 1904. The following quotation from the *Eighth Quinquennial*

Review of the Progress of Education in India describes the position as it was in 1921-22 :—

"In no feature of their secondary education systems do the provinces differ more than in their employment of trained teachers in secondary schools. In Government schools in the United Provinces two-thirds of the teachers are trained and the proportion of the trained to the untrained teachers in secondary schools under private management is about 1 to 8.

In Bombay a percentage of 24.1 of the total number of teachers is shown as trained; but every teacher who passes the Secondary Teachers' Certificate examination is returned as trained. Actually only a few of the teachers of English and those almost entirely employed in Government schools have received training of any kind.

In the Punjab, although the total number of teachers employed in secondary schools had increased in five years from 5,380 to 9,223 yet the percentage of trained teachers, 70 per cent has been maintained by an increase from 3,761 to 6,446. The maintenance of the proportion of trained teachers in the Punjab is all the more satisfactory in view of the very large increase in the number of secondary schools in that Province.

In Madras, of 7,184 teachers employed in secondary schools no less than 4,954 possess professional certificates, though the number of trained teachers of the collegiate grade is only 18 per cent.

In the Central Provinces, the increase in the percentage of trained teachers in high schools from 26.5 to 67.5 is remarkable. Of 190 teachers in Government schools in this Province, 167 are graduates.

In the North-West Frontier Province, 363 out of 576 teachers are trained and 93 graduates.

On the other hand in Bihar and Orissa only 146 out of a total of 1,774 teachers of English and Classics are trained though the percentage of trained vernacular teachers in secondary schools is 70.

The case of Bengal is similar. The number of Anglo-Vernacular teachers and teachers of classical languages in all secondary schools is 12,906, out of whom only 357 are trained though 3,392 are graduates. The percentage of trained

vernacular teachers is, however, about 48 (3,595 out of 7,498)."[1]

6. **Provision of Vocational Courses.** The problem of providing alternative vocational courses at the upper secondary stage attracted some attention during the period under review. The *Government Resolution on Educational Policy* dated 1904, observed as under:—

"23. It is frequently urged that the courses of study in secondary schools are too literary in their character. The same complaint is otherwise expressed by saying that the high school courses are almost exclusively preparatory to the University Entrance Examination, and take insufficient account of the fact that most of the scholars do not proceed to the University, and require some different course of instruction. Attempts have therefore been made, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Education Commission, to introduce alternative courses, analogous to what is known in England as a "modern side", in order to meet the needs of those boys who are destined for industrial or commercial pursuits. These attempts have not hitherto met with success. The purely literary course, qualifying as it does both for the University and for Government employ, continues to attract the great majority of pupils, and more practical studies are at present but little in request. The Government of India, however, will not abandon their aim. In the present stage of social and industrial development it appears to them essential to promote diversified types of secondary education, corresponding with the varying needs of practical life. Their efforts in this direction will be seconded by that large body of influential opinion which has supported the recommendation of the Universities Commission that the Entrance Examination should no longer be accepted as a qualifying test for Government service.

24. But the question what subjects should be taught and by what means proficiency in them should be tested forms only a part of the larger problem of the true object of secondary education. Whatever courses a school may adopt it should

[1] Vol. I, pp. 94-5. The figures are for Secondary Schools for boys only.

aim at teaching them well and intelligently, and at producing pupils who have fully assimilated the knowledge which they have acquired, and are capable of more sustained effort than is involved in merely passing an examination. Some test of course there must be; and the Government of India are disposed to think that the best solution of the difficulty will probably be found in adapting to Indian conditions the system of leaving examinations, held at the conclusion of the secondary course, which has been tried with success in other countries. Such examinations would not dominate the courses of study, but would be adapted to them, and would form the natural culminating point of secondary education, a point not to be reached by sudden and spasmodic effort, but by the orderly development of all the faculties of the mind under good and trained teaching. They would be of a more searching character than the present Entrance Test, and the certificate given at their close would be evidence that the holder had received a sound education in a recognised school, that he had borne a good character, and that he had really learnt what the school professed to have taught him. It would thus possess a definite value, and would deserve recognition not only by Government and the Universities, but also by the large body of private employers who are in want of well-trained assistants in their various lines of activity."

Accordingly, the attempts at providing alternative vocational courses at the upper secondary stage and at instituting School Leaving Examinations—which had been already undertaken in the period 1882-1902—were continued during the period under review, although the success obtained was hardly encouraging. The *Government Resolution on Educational Policy* dated 1913, reviewed the whole position again and observed as under:

"24. The introduction of a school course complete in itself and of a practical character, freed from the domination of the Matriculation Examination, was recommended in the first instance by the Education Commission of 1882. In some Provinces, and particularly in Madras, real progress has been made in the accomplishment of this reform. The figures for 1901-02 and 1910-11 are:—

	1901-02		1910-11	
	School Final (Candidates)	Matriculation (Candidates)	School Final (Candidates)	Matriculation (Candidates)
Madras and Coorg	194	7,682	7,317	782
Bombay	1,162	3,731	1,360	3,766
United Provinces	452	1,704	946	2,206
Central Provinces		473	538	702

In other Provinces, the School Final Examination has not yet been established except for special purposes. The total number of candidates in 1910-11 for the School Final Examination or Leaving Certificate in all British Provinces was 10,161 ; that of candidates for Matriculation was 16,962."

This optimistic statement is likely to be a little misleading if the problem is not examined more closely. The following details will, therefore, be found to be interesting.

(*a*) It will be seen that the *School Leaving Certificate Examination of Madras* proved to be extremely popular and practically supplanted the Matriculation Examination. The origin and description of the scheme is best told in the words of the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1907-12 :—

"219. In view of the failure of the upper secondary examination in Madras a committee was constituted consisting of the director and four official and four non-official members to draw up a scheme which should serve as an Entrance Test to public service, to technical institutions and to university courses, and as evidence of the satisfactory completion of a secondary course. The Committee went further than their instructions and decided that what was required was the award of a School Leaving Certificate giving complete information as to the character and career of the pupil without any

statement of his having attained a fixed standard or passed any examination. Any pupil who had gone through the secondary course to the satisfaction of his headmaster could, under this scheme, receive a certificate the value of which for any particular purpose could be estimated by any person of the necessary competence such as an officer of Government or the principal of a college. Sir A. Bourne thus describes it:—

> 'The list of subjects includes all those now studied in schools as well as others which it is thought to be provided for, and may be enlarged by any that the department may hereafter approve. The subjects are grouped in three divisions known as A, B and C. The A subjects, English, Vernacular composition and translation, and Elementary Mathematics, will, it is assumed, not ordinarily be omitted in any school and an annual public examination is held in them. The B subjects, Geography, Indian History, Elementary Science, Drawing, Physical Training and for girls, Domestic Economy and Needlework, should similarly find a place in every school course. Experience shows, however, that the subjection of pupils to a public examination in these subjects prevents variety and originality of treatment, induces cramming and impairs their value as mental training. It is impossible to say moreover what, if any, fixed quantity of knowledge in them is necessary for entrance on any career. There is therefore no public examination in them. The C subjects are indefinitely numerous. They include all those subjects proficiency in one or more of which is plainly necessary for entering the university, a technical institution, or business, or is recognized as forming part of a good school education. Among them are the more specialized parts of elementary mathematics and science, algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, and botany: English history: classical, foreign and vernacular languages: commercial subjects, shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, commercial arithmetic, practice: and geography, agriculture, music, needlework, dress-making and lace-making. Since heads of colleges, officers of Government and others require precise information as to the progress made by a pupil who claims to have to some extent specialized in any of these subjects a public examination is held in them.

It is to be observed that the scheme makes no subject compulsory. The department expects schools to take up the A and B subjects and a school will not be allowed to omit any of them without good reasons, but will, on the other hand, admit such reason. In schools for girls, for instance, it might be desirable to omit English or mathematics. It is also intended that each school shall take more than one of the C subjects, and it is hoped that schools will increasingly provide specialized instruction so that a bifurcation of courses resembling that of the modern and classical sides of the English public school may become common. There is ample scope, moreover, for the framing of exceptional courses for exceptional schools. The scheme can be applied for instance, with no difficulty to European schools, to girls' schools, or to schools in which English is not taken.

With a view to correcting the prevalent view of school work as a mere preparation for examinations and to securing continuity of effort throughout the school course the scheme provides for the entry in the certificate of marks granted in school in all subjects taken up for not less than two terms in each of the higher forms, and this is the only evidence of a pupil's progress in the 'B' subjects. The certificates are completed by the entry of the marks obtained in the A and C subjects in the public examination for which pupils can only appear if considered fit when their certificates show attendance for a minimum number of days for a year in each of the higher forms. The certificates do not contain any statement that a pupil has or has not 'passed' the public examination. They contain entries of the average marks gained in the various subjects in the presidency and in the particular school and a comparison of the marks of any pupil with these should afford necessary information as to his proficiency.'

Provision is also made for pupils who obtain certificates of a low standard to return to school for a year or more and to improve their marks in any subject they have taken or to take up new subjects."

It is easy to see why such an examination should prove most popular. In the *first* place, there was no declaration of pass or fail in the examination—a novel

idea which came as a great relief to an examination ridden system. *Secondly*, the certificate admitted to the University. In fact, entrance to the University now became easier. Under the old system, only those who had *passed* the Matriculation could be admitted to the University, whereas, under the system of School Leaving Certificates, a student could be admitted to a college at the *discretion* of its Principal—a privilege that led to several abuses in the earlier years. *Thirdly*, the examination also qualified a candidate for employment under Government. It will, therefore, be seen that the School Leaving Certificate examination had all the advantages of the old Matriculation and, in addition, provided a more varied course and a better and less rigid method of testing the pupil's abilities. It is, therefore, hardly a matter of surprise, if the new examination practically supplanted the Matriculation.

It must be noted, however, that the new examination did not *divert* the scholars into 'various walks of life' which ought to have been the real aim of a bifurcation of studies at the upper secondary stage. On the other hand, the pupils of secondary schools continued to enter the University in large numbers as they had done before. If anything, the new scheme only accelerated this process. *Secondly*, one must be on guard with regard to the innumerable subjects in list C. They are likely to lead one to a belief that provision was made for teaching them in most schools. But this was hardly the case. The subjects that came to be usually taught were elementary mathematics and science, algebra, geometry, etc.; and subjects like agriculture, lace-making, dress-making, etc. could claim only a microscopic minority of pupils. The new scheme, therefore, was hardly a measure of advance in carrying out the directions of

the Despatch of 1854 which had desired the imparting of such instruction as would make its possessors "more useful members of society in every condition of life."

(*b*) The same remarks can be made regarding the *United Provinces School Leaving Certificate Examination* which admitted to the University and was also regarded as a qualifying test for employment under Government. The following quotation will give an idea of the scheme:—

"The plan of the examination consists of four compulsory subjects and eleven optional subjects, and in order to obtain a certificate candidates must pass in the four compulsory subjects, and one optional subject. The compulsory subjects are English, mathematics, the history of India with the outline of the system of administration, geography, and a vernacular. The optional subjects are (1) one of the classical languages—Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian with Arabic, and Latin, (2) commerce, (3) physics and chemistry, (4) physiography, (5) a further course in mathematics including mechanics and trigonometry, (6) botany, (7) agriculture, (8) drawing, (9) manual training, (10) a modern European language, and (11) domestic science. The courses are in principle only model courses, and schools are at liberty to propose alternative courses of equal difficulty to suit their requirements. But in practice this liberty has not been exercised and the courses drawn up by the board have, except in one instance, been universally adopted.

New important features of the examination are the following:—First, no particular text-book is prescribed for English, headmasters being allowed to use with the sanction of the department books selected by themselves. The same is the case for the vernacular. But it is the duty of the Text-book Committee to recommend books suitable for study, and a separate list of such books is published annually for the guidance of headmasters in making their selection. Secondly, number and length of the written papers are reduced to a minimum. Thirdly, to make up for this, the written examination is supplemented by an oral test in English and a modern European language, and by practical tests in physics

and chemistry, commerce, further mathematics and manual training. In the first year there were also oral tests in classical languages and the vernacular, but they were discontinued partly because they were considered less necessary, and partly because it was difficult to make satisfactory arrangements for them. Fourthly, the records of the work done during the course of preparation by the masters and boys are inspected at the school *in situ* by the oral and practical examiners, and the headmasters' recommendations are also considered. The object is to make the examination as thorough and searching as possible and extend its influence over the regular work done in school. It will be observed that, although the co-operation of teachers is sought by taking their opinions of their pupils and the records of their work into consideration, the examination, oral and written, occupies a primary position as the criterion for determining the merits of the candidates."

(*c*) *The Conduct of the Bombay School Final Examination* was handed over to the Education Department in 1904. Unlike the two examinations noticed above, the Bombay examination qualified for Government Service (the Matriculation did not) but not for the University. It also gave fewer options than the other two. It had four compulsory subjects (English, a modern Indian language, Arithmetic and History of India with general Geography) and one optional to be selected from a limited list. There were also oral tests in English and modern Indian language. An important point to be noticed is the fact that, even at this early date, pupils were given the option to answer questions in history, geography and classical language in their mother-tongue.

It will be seen from the above analysis that the aspect of the problem changed considerably during the period under review. The object of the bifurcation scheme recommended by the Indian Education Commission was to train up young men and women for trade, commerce, industry, etc. with a view to diverting the

flood of candidates that rushed to the Universities. But the alternative examinations provided in the period 1902 to 1921 were more in the nature of attempts either at the reform of the examination system or at the enrichment of the secondary course by providing a number of optional subjects. They did not succeed in providing vocational or pre-vocational courses; nor did they divert students into various walks of life.

This new aspect of the problem is thus explained by the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 1913 :—

"The principal objects of the school final examination are adaptability to the course of study and avoidance of cram. In those provinces in which a school final examination or school leaving certificate has not been introduced the Government of India desire that it should be instituted as soon as practicable. They suggest for the consideration of Local Governments and Administrations further developments of the system in regard to the character of the tests by which certificates are granted at the end of the school course. Before proceeding further, however, they restate and emphasise the three principles laid down by the Indian Universities Commission in paragraph 170 of their report.

'(1) The conduct of a school final or other school examination should be regarded as altogether outside the functions of a university.

(2) It would be of great benefit to the universities if the Government would direct that the matriculation examination should not be accepted as a preliminary or full test for any post in government service. In cases where the matriculation examination qualifies for admission to a professional examination the school final examination should be substituted for it.

(3) It would be advantageous if the school final examination could, in the case of those who propose to follow a university career, be made a sufficient test of fitness to enter the university. Failing this, the best arrangement would appear to be that the matriculation candidate should pass in certain subjects in the school final examination, and be examined

by the university with regard to any further requirements that may be deemed necessary.'

The value of external examination cannot be overlooked. It sets before the teacher a definite aim and it maintains a standard; but the definite aim often unduly overshadows instruction, and the standard is necessarily narrow and in view of the large numbers that have to be examined must confine itself to mere examination achievement, without regard to mental development or general growth of character. On the other hand, the drawbacks of external examinations are becoming more generally apparent, and attention was prominently drawn to them in the report of the Consultative Committee on examinations in secondary schools in England. They fail, especially in India, in that they eliminate the inspecting and teaching staff as factors in the system, that they impose all responsibility upon a body acquainted but little (if at all) with the schools examined, that they rely upon written papers, which afford no searching test of intellect, no test at all of character or general ability, and that they encourage cram."

The problem need not be pursued further; and we shall close this discussion with the following summary of the conclusions which may be drawn from the discussion of the problem given in this and in the last chapter.

(*a*) The measures that ought to have been adopted for the introduction of vocational or pre-vocational courses at the upper secondary stage were the following:

(*i*) Preparing carefully planned schemes of vocational instruction in consultation with the representatives of employers of educated labour, such as Banks, Railways, Commercial Firms, etc.

(*ii*) Providing for the teaching of these courses in Government institutions;

(*iii*) Awarding special grants to private schools in order to enable them adequately to staff and equip their schools for teaching such courses;

(*iv*) Conducting special institutions for training teachers required for these special courses; and

(*v*) Developing the trade and industries of the country with a view to creating more openings for the pupils educated in these special courses.

(*b*) But these measures—some of which, at any rate, had been visualised by the Indian Education Commission—were not adopted. On the other hand, *the real problem at issue got side-tracked by the belief that an alternative examination would meet all the needs of the situation.* It was to the creation of such an examination that most of the efforts were directed between 1882 and 1921.

(*c*) These attempts did not, therefore, succeed in introducing vocational or pre-vocational education, although they led to some enrichment of the secondary course and to some reforms in the method of examinations.

(*d*) On the other hand, it must be admitted that there was no keen demand from the public for the introduction of vocational courses and that the attempts made at introducing them often became unpopular. This was due to several causes among which the following may be mentioned:—

(*i*) Until very late in this period, the problem of educated unemployment had not become serious. It was still possible for a person with a knowledge of English to get some employment either under Government or in private schools or trade. In other words, a knowledge of English led to 'employment' and was, therefore, still equivalent to 'vocational training'; and so long as this situation did not alter, real vocational training did not have much chance of becoming popular.

(*ii*) The pupils of the upper secondary standards came mostly from the middle-classes (from the economic stand-point) who were accustomed for centuries to live by intellectual work rather than by manual labour. It was not surprising that these pupils did not take kindly to manual work and vocational training.

(*iii*) Lastly, the lack of provision of hand-work, etc. at the primary and lower secondary stage proved to be another obstacle to the introduction of vocational courses at the upper secondary stage. Children who were brought up in an entirely bookish curriculum could not naturally be expected to take kindly to manual work in the tenth year of study. What was really needed was a good deal of the 'doing element' in the school course right from its very beginning.

7. **Improvements in the Teaching of English.** It was shown in the last chapter that by 1902, the teaching of English became the prime object of the secondary course. This exaggerated importance attached to the study of English continued throughout the period under review, with the result that official attempts were very largely directed to the improvements in the teaching of English.

The movement received a great impetus from the report of the Indian Universities Commission which observed :—

"The declared object of the policy which led to the establishment of the Indian Universities was the extension of European knowledge by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction. The proper teaching of English must for this reason be regarded as the most important matter in the curriculum of the higher schools and of the universities. Notwithstanding the prominent position given to English throughout the course, the results are most

discouraging. Students after matriculation are found to be unable to understand lectures in English when they join a college. In some cases the difficulty is said to disappear after a short time: but it appears to be the case that many students pass through the entire university course without acquiring anything approaching to a command of the language, and proceed to a degree without even learning to write a letter in English correctly and idiomatically. Even those who have acquired considerable facility in speaking and composition are, as we ourselves had many occasions of observing, lamentably deficient in pronunciation. The evil begins in the schools. The great object of parents and guardians is to pass their boys through the school course as rapidly as possible, and pressure is brought to bear on managers of schools to promote pupils regardless of their fitness for such promotion. Boys begin to learn English as a language, and also to learn other subjects through the medium of English, long before they are capable of understanding it, and in the lower classes are taught by ill-paid teachers, who have no claim to be regarded as qualified to teach the language. Faults acquired at this stage are seldom completely eradicated, and even when a boy reaches the higher classes of a high school, he is generally taught by a teacher whose vernacular is not English and who is wanting in the capacity to teach the language properly. Numbers of students reach the stage of Matriculation without ever having heard an Englishman speak, and incapable of understanding English as spoken by those whose mother-tongue it is. It is beyond our province to enter into details of management of the schools but it is patent that if the universities are to turn out good students in English, boys must be better taught in this subject at school. We therefore venture to express our opinion that it is desirable that the study of English should not be permitted to be begun till a boy can be expected to understand what he is being taught in that language, that the classes at schools should be of manageable size, and that teachers, whose mother-tongue is not English, should be passed through a training college where they may be tested in expression and elocution by an Englishman before they are given certificates to teach."

Various means were employed to improve the teaching of English. Newer methods of teaching, such as the

direct method, were introduced; as far as possible, only trained teachers were appointed to teach English; the teaching of English in the lower standards was put in the hands of the most competent teachers available in the school; prescription of text-books or their abolition, the raising of the minimum percentage of marks required for passing, adoption of stricter standards of examination, etc. were also tried. But if the reports of examiners are any guide to the attainments of candidates, the standard of English in 1921-22 was not much different from that of 1901-02. In fact, one cannot help feeling that the educationists of this period were attempting an impossible task. They wanted to give every one who came to the secondary school a command over the English language. This was not possible except in the case of a small minority, and the exaggerated emphasis on a command over English was only little short of torture for the average pupil. It took up a good deal of his time; it hindered the proper study of liberal subjects in the curriculum; and for all the efforts that he made to master the alien language, he was left with a very inadequate sense of achievement.

8. **Medium of Instruction.** This exaggerated importance attached to a command over English considerably hindered, during the period under review, the movement for the use of modern Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary stage.

We have seen in the last chapter that by 1902, the position regarding the medium of instruction stood as under:—

(*i*) There was a unanimity of opinion regarding the use of English as a medium at the high school stage;

(*ii*) The question of adopting modern Indian lan-

guages at the middle school stage was often discussed without any definite decision being reached; and

(*iii*) The stage at which the study of English as a language should be begun was also a disputed point.

It was, therefore, natural that the problem should be reviewed by the Government Resolution on Educational Policy dated 1904, which observed:—

"26. Except in certain of the larger towns of Madras, where like Urdu in Northern India, it serves to some extent the purpose of a *lingua franca*, English has no place, and should have no place, in the scheme of primary education. It has never been part of the policy of Government to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. It is true that the commercial value which a knowledge of English commands, and the fact that the final examinations of the high schools are conducted in English, cause the secondary schools to be subjected to a certain pressure to introduce prematurely both the teaching of English as a language and its use as the medium of instruction, while for the same reasons the study of the vernacular in these schools is liable to be thrust into the background. This tendency however requires to be corrected in the interest of sound education. As a general rule a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he has made some progress in the primary stages of instruction and has received a thorough grounding in his mother-tongue.

It is equally important that when the teaching of English has begun, it should not be prematurely employed as the medium of instruction in other subjects. Much of the practice, too, prevalent in Indian schools, of committing to memory ill-understood phrases and extracts from text-books or notes, may be traced to the scholars' having received instruction through the medium of English before their knowledge of the language was sufficient to enable them to understand what they were taught. The line of division between the use of the vernacular and of English as a medium of instruction should, broadly speaking, be drawn at a minimum age of 13.

No scholar in a secondary school should, even then, be allowed to abandon the study of his vernacular, which should be kept up until the end of the school course. If the educated classes neglect the cultivation of their own languages, these will assuredly sink to the level of mere colloquial dialects possessing no literature worthy of the name, and no progress will be possible in giving effect to the principle, affirmed in the Despatch of 1854, that European knowledge should gradually be brought, by means of Indian vernaculars, within the reach of all classes of the people."

The policy outlined in this passage was generally carried out during the period under review; and by 1921-22, the modern Indian languages came generally to be used as the media of instruction at the middle school stage.

But the question of abandoning the use of English as the medium at the high school stage was again left undecided. The following resolution on the subject was moved in the Imperial Legislative Council by Mr. S. Rayaningar on 17th March 1915 :—

> "That this Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to have, in consultation with the Provincial Governments and Administrations, steps taken for making the Indian Vernaculars media of instruction and the study of English as second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools."

The resolution was opposed on several grounds some of which are given below :—

(1) The pupil's knowledge of English would deteriorate if English is not used as a medium of instruction ;

(2) Suitable text-books in Modern Indian Languages were not available ;

(3) The Modern Indian Languages being deficient in technical nomenclature, it would be difficult to impart instruction through them in such subjects as geography, mathematics and science ;

(4) Suitable teachers were not available to teach non-language subjects in the Modern Indian Languages ;

(5) There being several languages current in each Province, it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to make provision for imparting instruction through the media of Modern Indian Languages, and the attempts would involve very large expenditure;

(6) As English is a language of inter-provincial importance. the proposed measure would interfere with the unification of the Indian peoples.

In summing up the debate, Sir Harcourt Butler, the Member in Charge of Education, observed as under:—

"This is a question not of *educational policy* but of *educational economy,* and is a question which would require many minds to solve. I can only tell you that in my own experience and in the experience of many competent educationists with whom I have discussed the question, there is a markedly greater intelligence in the boy whose education has been conducted through the medium of vernacular until the highest classes of the school are reached than the boy who has had his education conducted in English in what used to be called in some Provinces the Upper Middle School. That also was the conclusion which the Education Commission of 1882 came to in regard to Bengal. But I am far from thinking that my own experience in the matter is at all conclusive. It is a matter which requires a large amount of experience before we can come to any conclusion. We must also remember that the supply of education is to a large extent governed by the demand for it. Every educational system in the world is beating itself against this bed-rock fact that A is not willing to learn what B is eager to teach. Many modern theories on education have come to grief from ignoring this bed-rock fact. My own idea is that it is essentially a case for experiment, and that it is a condition of the experiment being successful that the teaching of English as a compulsory second language should be of the very highest order in the hands of very good teachers; and the number of these is limited in India at present. The Hon'ble Pandit (Madan Mohan Malaviya) suggests a committee. I think that a committee for all India would be out of the question. The subject is one in which different views may very well be taken in different provinces and even in different parts of a province with reference to

local conditions. I think myself that there is sufficient demand in this Council for inquiry to refer the matter as an open question to Local Governments drawing attention to this debate, and suggesting for their consideration whether the time has come to appoint provincial committees to inquire into the subject. But, in view of the opposition which the Resolution has excited in this Council, I think it better to say that this reference to Local Governments will not be made until after the war."[1]

Accordingly, a representative conference was held at Simla in 1917 under the chairmanship of Sir C. Shankaran Nair who was then the Member in Charge of Education. Unfortunately, the conference was inconclusive and English continued to be the medium of instruction at the high school stage throughout the period under review. The whole position regarding the medium of instruction as it stood in the several Provinces of British India in 1921-22 is given in the charts at the end of this chapter.

9. **Expansion.** It will be seen from the foregoing narrative that the efforts of the Education Departments were mainly concentrated on the improvement in quality; and yet, the expansion of secondary education was even more rapid between 1901-21 than between 1881-1901. For instance, consider the following statistics:—

—	1881-82	1901-02	1921-22
No. of Secondary Schools ...	3,916	5,124	7,530
No. of pupils in Secondary Schools ...	2,14,077	5,90,129	11,06,803

As pointed out in Chapter IX, this expansion was

[1] For details of the debate, *vide Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India*, Vol. LIII, pp. 418-47.

mainly due to the great social and political awakening that took place in the country during this period.

10. **Conclusion.** The achievements of the period 1902-21 in secondary education, therefore, were both *qualitative* as well as *quantitative.* During these two decades, the number of secondary schools and scholars rose very considerably. At the same time, there was a marked improvement in quality due mainly to stricter conditions of recognition, increase in expenditure from all sources, and a larger output of trained teachers. The main problems that yet remained to be solved were (*i*) the adoption of modern Indian languages as the media of instruction, and (*ii*) the provision of vocational or pre-vocational courses. It was to the solution of these that attempts were directed in the next period (i.e. 1921-37) the narrative of which will be resumed in Chapter XXII.

Scheme of Primary & Secondary School Classes (1921).

MADRAS.

- VERNACULAR: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII
- ENGLISH: I, II, III, E, IV, V, … IV, V, VI

BOMBAY.

- VERNACULAR: Inf, I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII
- ENGLISH: E, I, II, III, …

(WEST) BENGAL (EAST)

- VERNACULAR: Inf, Inf, I, II, III, IV, V, VI
- ENGLISH: Inf, Inf, VIII b, VIII a, E, VII b, VII a, VI, V, … I
- VERNACULAR: I₁, I₂, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII
- ENGLISH: I, II, E, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X

UNITED PROV.

- VERNACULAR: Prep, Prep, I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII
- special classes: VI, VII
- ENGLISH: Prep, Prep, I, II, E, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X

PUNJAB.

- VERNACULAR: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII
- Special classes: I, II
- ENGLISH: E, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X

High Stage — Middle Stage — Primary Stage

English teaching began — E.

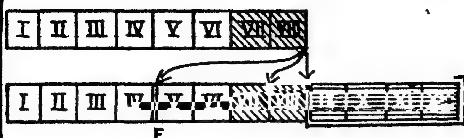
English as medium of instruction.

Passage to English Schools. ⟶

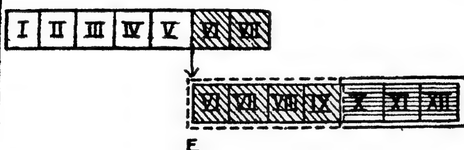
English as medium of instruction in some subjects.

SCHEME OF PRIMARY & SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSES (1921)

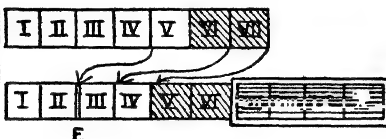
BIHAR & ORISSA



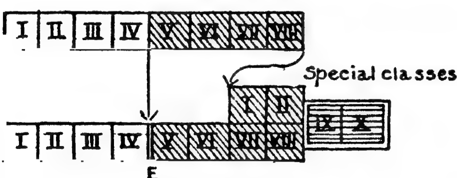
CENTRAL PROV.



ASSAM.



N. W. F. PROV.



High Stage — Middle Stage — Primary Stage

English as medium of instruction

English as medium of instruction in some subjects

Passage to English Schools ⟶ English teaching began **E**

CHAPTER XV

PRIMARY EDUCATION

(1854-1882)

THE history of primary education in the second period can be conveniently studied under the following six topics:—

(i) Events of the period 1854-59.
(ii) The Despatch of 1859.
(iii) Events of the period 1859-82.
(iv) Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, 1882.
(v) Events of the period 1882-1902.
(vi) Events of the period 1902-21.

2. **Events of the Period, 1854-59.** Prior to 1854, the educational policy of Government was dominated by financial stringency and the elementary education of the masses could not have thrived so long as this situation did not alter. The Despatch of 1854, however, turned a new page in the history of primary education; for it desired the more active measures of Government to be directed towards conveying "useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life", to the great mass of the people who were "utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts." Although this did not mean that Government assumed full responsibility for mass education, it marked a step forward and showed that Government had at last become alive to its necessity. Secondly, the Despatch directed that "the indigenous schools should, by wise encouragement, be

made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people." In this connection, the Despatch also drew the attention of the Provincial Governments to the scheme introduced by Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Province, an account of which has already been given in Chapter VI. It will, therefore, be seen that although the Despatch of 1854 emphasized the importance of the expansion of primary education, it did not expect the Department to provide *Government* schools in large numbers for the extension of primary education. On the other hand, it expected that the *indigenous* schools would be given grants-in-aid and *improved* under a system of Government inspection.

The events of the next five years, however, show that the instructions of the Despatch were not followed by the newly created Departments of Public Instruction. The downward filtration theory died hard and in spite of the clear directions of the Despatch of 1854, the attempts of the Departments were directed to the spread of secondary rather than of primary education; the additional funds that came in for education were largely eaten up by the heavy cost of departmental establishments[1] and the spread of English education; and the Education Departments did not take kindly to the indigenous schools which, from their point of view, were extremely inefficient institutions. Consequently, the achievements of this period in elementary education are of no importance, although some of its experiments and the growth of expenditure on education from Government funds deserve special notice.

[1] The Secretary of State for India observed that the authorized cost of the administration of the education departments was £53,890 in 1856-57 while the total expenditure on education in that year was £2,33,890 (para 40 of the *Despatch of* 1859).

(*a*) *Grant-in-aid to Primary Schools.*—The Despatch of 1854 had emphasized the adoption of the grant-in-aid system, and accordingly, every provincial government framed rules of grant-in-aid which were applicable to all kinds of educational institutions. But in Madras, grants under the rules were mostly made to schools of a higher class and in the North-Western Provinces the official grant-in-aid system was applied, until 1857, only to a few schools affording higher education. The Bengal rules were more suited to colleges and secondary schools than to primary institutions. Two particular features of these rules—these were common to all the Provincial Rules—that created difficulties in practical working, deserve particular mention; the first was the insistence on the payment of a monthly fee—a condition that had been imposed in accordance with the following paragraph of the Despatch of 1854:—

> "54. It has been found by experience, in this and in other countries, that not only is an entirely gratuitous education valued far less by those who receive it than one for which some payment, however small, is made, but that the payment induces a more regular attendance and greater exertion on the part of the pupils; and for this reason, as well as because school fees themselves, insignificant as they may be in each individual instance, will in the aggregate, when applied to the support of a better class of masters, become of very considerable importance, we desire that grants-in-aid shall, as a general principle, be made to such schools only (with the exception of normal schools) as require some fee, however small, from their scholars."

It is true that the idea of charging a fee in primary schools was not, in itself, unjustifiable especially at a time when the idea of compulsory education had not yet dawned; it is also true that the fee actually levied was not heavy. But the traditions of the indigenous schools were different. They collected their fees in cash

It is a Government school to which the people gave aid to the extent of more than half the expenditure.

This scheme was announced under a notification dated 16th May, 1854, and a number of such schools was opened in the following three years. Very soon it became difficult to collect the subscription from the people, as the schools did not become popular with them. Firstly, the masses preferred to send their children to the indigenous schools where they obtained such knowledge of the three R's as was immediately useful in later life. They had no fancy for the ambitious curriculum of these schools.[1] In this connection, it is interesting to read the following report of an Educational Inspector:—

"Whatever may be thought of these results in other quarters, the people themselves,—the cess-payers—seem to think that boys in our vernacular schools are required to learn too much. In a former report I once mentioned that one of the chief men in a large village, after sitting out the school examination, in which he seemed to take some interest, asked me to order the school master to teach only writing and ciphering, and not to use printed books or maps. This year, at another large village, which has a great deal of good land, and pays much cess, the Kulkurnee told me that if I made the school master teach only writing and ciphering the school attendance would be trebled; that the people did not want what he called 'Sirkaree vidya', that 'gawtee vidya' was enough for them, and as much as their children could be expected to acquire. A village elder and spokesman at another place (a Talooka town, where the Mamlatdar was present at the school examination) made a very animated speech against 'much learning', and in the favour of the people's right to be as ignorant as their fathers. He said Government seemed to wish to make the people clever, and that education was doubtless a proper thing for Europe and Europeans, but that his people preferred to remain as they were. I mention these things in illustration

[1] *Vide* paragraph 3(*b*) of Chapter VI *supra*.

of the general, if not universal, feeling of the people, which must be taken into account in judging of the progress of Government Vernacular Schools and in revising examination standards. I have elsewhere reported that I do not think these standards should be lowered; but I think some compromise should be made to induce boys to attend our schools who now attend only indigenous schools or none at all."[1]

This report is dated 1869—a year in which the standard of instruction in a primary school was considerably lower than that of the years 1854-59—and if the people thought the standards of 1869 to be too high, their attitude to the standards of 1854 can be easily imagined.

Secondly, the higher and middle classes also had no sympathy for this type of school. What they wanted was not knowledge but service under Government and hence they sent their children preferably to English schools. Consequently, the subscriptions for these schools—generally promised in a moment of enthusiasm by a few leading persons or under pressure from a zealous officer—soon began to fall into arrears and the following report of an Educational Inspector of Gujarat will throw light on the position of some, at least, of these schools:—

"Ootursunda is a very rich village in the Kaira Collectorate, with a population of 3,477, and yields a revenue to Government of about Rs. 9,000 per annum. It has a partially self-supporting school, for which it is bound to pay Rs. 150 per annum. The master is popular, and the number of pupils varies, according to season and circumstances, from 40 to 80 children. The people were well satisfied with the school and willing to pay the trifle required for its support. But there was a dispute between the leading men as to the mode in which it should be levied, to terminate which I was lately obliged to go to the place myself. I found three parties, one

[1] *Report of the D.P.I., Bombay,* 1869-70, pp. 180-1.

of which desired a house-tax, another an enhancement of the land assessment, and a third the levy of a duty on certain articles. After two days of fruitless talk, I, on the third, succeeded in obtaining the adoption of the first and most practicable measure.

This was only introductory to the great trouble of getting hold of every householder in the village to obtain from him his trifling contribution at the rate of four annas per annum. Some were busy, ploughing or sowing, others were going to neighbouring villages to sell their produce. Each had to be called away from his business, and to lose half a day at least. In the middle a fresh difficulty occurred. The Brahmins in a body declined to pay on the ground of their social supremacy. The other castes objected loudly, and the question remained open for three days. At length, it was settled by a very oriental expedient—that of drawing lots. Four different sums of money were written on pieces of paper and it was agreed that the caste should pay the sum written on the one drawn. As luck would have it, the lowest came out, and the caste got off with one-fifth of what it ought to have paid, the balance falling, of course, on the rest of the village. At length the whole of the money thus due was collected, but at what cost? The Mamlutdar, the District Deputy Collector, and I had done little else for six days, and the villagers were thoroughly worried with being troubled and taken away from their work, the cultivators for half the day at least—the headman the whole time; so that I believe that the whole population would, at that time, have readily signed a petition for the abolition of the School."[1]

The system was, therefore, doomed to failure and it would not have been possible to extend mass education on a large scale on these principles. In the meanwhile, however, the Government of India came to the conclusion that the partially self-supporting system was not essentially the same as the grant-in-aid system contemplated by the Despatch of 1854 and directed that no new schools of this type should be opened without their

[1] *Report of the D.P.I., Bombay,* 1857-58, pp. 56-E-F.

sanction. The experiment, therefore, came to a sudden end in 1858.

(c) *Improvement of Indigenous Schools.*—Turning to the second recommendation of the Despatch of 1854, viz., the encouragement of indigenous schools to impart "correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people", we find that very few measures were taken towards this end during the period under review. In Madras and Bombay the indigenous schools were almost ignored. In the North-Western Province, Mr. Thomason's plan was tried for a time but was soon abandoned in favour of the 'halkabandi' schools (described in the next para) which became extremely popular. In Bengal, the 'circle system' was introduced in 1855, under which "improvement was aimed at by employing and paying certain State pandits, each of whom was attached to a circle of three or four village schools under their own gurus or masters. The gurus received grants equal to those earned by their pupils, every one of whom on attaining a certain standard was rewarded according to his progress."[1] The Court of Directors found that the scheme worked well and ordered that it should be extended to other parts of Bengal. But even after this extension, in 1860-61, the number of schools brought under this system was only 172 with 7,731 pupils.

(d) *Halkabandi Schools.*—The North-Western Province organized a new type of schools called 'Halkabandi Schools'. An account of these schools is of great interest to the student of primary education because out of them arose the present system of primary schools maintained or aided by Local Fund Cesses which, in their turn, receive a grant-in-aid from Provincial Revenues. As the Despatch of 1859 observes:—

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 96.

"The system of Halkabandi or Circle schools had been devised, previously to 1854, for the special purpose of meeting the wants of the agricultural population. Under this system, several villages conveniently situated for the purpose are grouped together, and in a central situation a school is established, which is not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages forming the circle. For the support of these schools, the consent of the landowners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue, one per cent being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the landowners and half by the Government. The voluntary consent of the landowners was prescribed as an indispensable condition of the establishment of the system in any locality; and at the time of the outbreak in the North-Western Provinces in 1857, the requisite assent had been given to the scheme in many of the districts, and the sanction of the Home Authorities had been accorded (in 1856) to the proposal of the local Government that in the re-settlement of the land revenue, the new plan should be universally introduced, and one per cent on the Government demand should be set apart in all the districts for the support of this hulkabundee system."

(*e*) We shall now see how Government expenditure on education increased during this period. The following detailed statistics are available for 1856-57:—

—	*Bengal* £	*Madras* £	*Bombay* £	*N. W. Province* £	*Punjab* £
Total Revenue of the Province...	11,202,641	4,718,036	4,600,478	2,724,141	1,057,978
Expenditure on Education ...	94,322	34,222	35,273	33,060	14,487
Percentage of Expenditure on Education to total Provincial Revenues ...	.841	.725	.766	1.213	1.369

Commenting on these figures of expenditure, Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, made the following observations which show that, even at this early date, the Imperial Treasury had begun to feel apprehensive about the cost of the educational programme :—

> " In 1854-55, a year only partially affected by the new scheme, the charge was just within ten lakhs (9,99,898).
>
> In 1855-56 it had increased to seventeen lakhs and a quarter (17,25,664).
>
> In 1856-57 the estimated charge was rather above twenty-one lakhs and a half (21,64,050), making an increase in two years of eleven lakhs and a half.
>
> This is rather a serious addition in so short a time to the expenditure of a borrowing state, especially when it is considered that this charge is one of a rapidly progressive character."[1]

It must be admitted that the rise in educational expenditure was 'considerable' as promised by the Despatch of 1854. But one feels that, in spite of the increase, the total expenditure on education was very low, at any rate from the modern point of view. The programme chalked out by the Despatch had just begun and nothing had been achieved beyond the creation of the Departments of Public Instruction, the establishment of the Universities and some encouragement of collegiate and secondary education. As these activities had eaten up most of the additional funds that had been made available, the problem of elementary education had remained almost untouched. It now became obvious that, if the plans of the Despatch were to be carried out, a very large addition to the educational expenditure would be necessary. Something, therefore, had to be done in order to find additional resources for the spread of education. If these could not or would

[1] *Letter to the Court of Directors,* dated 28-4-1858.

not come voluntarily from the people, it was suggested that Government ought to find the additional funds either out of current revenues or by special taxation. This view was strongly advocated in the Province of Bombay where the Director of Public Instruction (Mr. E. I. Howard, who was also the Legal Remembrancer to Government) even submitted a draft of a bill for taxing the people of towns and villages in order to meet the growing cost of education.

3. **Despatch of 1859.** It was at this juncture that the Despatch of 1859 from the Secretary of State for India was received. It had to solve two main difficulties, viz., the applicability of the then existing rules of grant-in-aid to primary schools and the lack of adequate resources for the spread of education in general and that of primary education in particular.

The account of the working of Provincial rules of grant-in-aid given in the last section will show that the system had hardly been given a fair trial. In the first place, the rules themselves were defective in so far as they had not been framed with special reference to the working of the indigenous schools. Secondly, the system had been tried in one province only out of four and had been in operation for a very short period. It would, therefore, have been a fairer decision if the Secretary of State had ordered an investigation into the working of the rules regarding indigenous schools and, on the results of such investigation, had recommended a suitable revision of the rules. But unfortunately, as will be seen from the following extract, he took a different view and suggested that the grant-in-aid system be abolished altogether :—

"The difficulties experienced by the officers of the Department of Education in establishing a general system of popular schools

on the basis of the existing rules for the administration of grants-in-aid has been already referred to. But apart from the difficulty, and in primary cases the impossibility, of obtaining the local support required for the establishment of a school under the grant-in-aid system, it cannot be denied that the mere requisitions made for the purpose by the officers of the Education Department may have a tendency, not only to create a prejudice against Education, but also to render the Government itself unpopular. And, besides the unpopularity likely to arise from the demands on the poorer members of the community, made in the way either of persuasion or authority, there can be no doubt that the dignity of the Government is compromised by its officers appearing in the light of importunate and often unsuccessful applicants for pecuniary contributions, for objects which the Government is confessedly very anxious to promote.

On the whole, Her Majesty's Government can entertain little doubt that *the grant-in-aid system, as hitherto in force, is unsuited to the supply of Vernacular Education to the masses of the population; and it appears to them, so far as they have been able to form an opinion, that the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government,* according to some one of the plans in operation in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, or by such modification of those schemes as may commend itself to the several local Governments as best suited to the circumstances of different localities."[1]

This decision of the Secretary of State was hasty and much to be regretted. His recommendations, however, regarding the ways and means of financing primary education marked a great advance. He agreed with the view advocated in Bombay and suggested the impost of local taxes in order to meet the additional cost of the expansion of education. He said:—

"Assuming that the task of providing the means of elementary Vernacular Education for those who are unable to procure it for themselves is to be undertaken by the State, they are strongly of opinion that the officers of the Department of

[1] Italics ours.

Education should be relieved from the onerous and invidious task of soliciting contributions for the support of these schools from classes whose means for the most part are extremely limited, and whose appreciation of the advantages of Education does not dispose them to make sacrifices for obtaining it.

As regards the source from which the funds for Elementary Education should be obtained, it has been on different occasions proposed by officers connected with Education that, in order to avoid the difficulties experienced in obtaining voluntary local support, an Education Rate should be imposed, from which the cost of all schools throughout the country should be defrayed. And other officers who have considered India to be as yet unprepared for such a measure, have regarded other arrangements as merely temporary and palliative, and the levy of a compulsory rate as the only really effective step to be taken for permanently supplying the deficiency.

The appropriation of a fixed proportion of the annual value of the land to the purpose of providing such means of education for the population immediately connected with the land, seems, *per se*, unobjectionable, and the application of a percentage for the construction and maintenance of roads appears to afford a suitable precedent for such an impost. In the North Western Provinces the principle has already been acted on, though the plan has there been subjected to the important modification that the Government shares the burden with the landholder, and that the consent of the latter shall be a necessary condition to the introduction of the arrangement in any locality. The several existing inspectors of schools in Bengal are of opinion that an Education Rate might without difficulty be introduced into that Presidency, and it seems not improbable that the levy of such a rate under the direct authority of the Government would be acquiesced in with far more readiness and with less dislike than a nominally voluntary rate proposed by the local officers."

Perhaps the explanation of these recommendations of the Despatches of 1854 and 1859 which generally contradict each other on the subject of elementary education, and the subsequent controversies that raged round them till about 1870, may be traced to the contemporary

controversies in England. At this time, elementary education in England was mostly provided by denominational schools supported, to a certain extent, by Parliamentary grants. But opinion was keenly divided regarding the future of elementary education. One section held the view that voluntary effort—which meant mostly the denominational schools—was the best agency for the spread of elementary education, and that Parliament should do no more than give financial assistance to voluntary schools. This section opposed all attempts to introduce a State system of education because of the fear that, in State schools, there would be no freedom to the various sects to teach the principles of their religion. On the other hand, the opposite section held the view that the system of voluntary schools was defective; that the voluntary agencies were hiding fundamental defects under a show of activity; that the voluntary schools had not succeeded in bringing all children into schools; and that universal education could not be realised with the help of a voluntary agency alone. This section recommended the imposition of local taxes for education and the establishment of a system of public schools maintained and controlled by *ad hoc* bodies consisting of the representatives of the people. The controversy between these two sections of public opinion dominated the field of elementary education in England between the years 1846 and 1870 and was only partially closed by the Education Act of 1870 which empowered Government, under certain conditions, to establish School Boards with powers to levy local taxes for the establishment and maintenance of public schools and to compel attendance of children between 5 and 13 years of age.

It was inevitable that the effects of this controversy

should be felt on Indian Educational policy also; and one is driven to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Despatch of 1859 as well as those of 1854 were more a result of the controversies in England than of the experience gained in India or a careful study of what was best suited to Indian conditions.

4. **Events of the Period 1859-82.** This Despatch naturally led to some controversies in India where opinion had not yet crystallized. While some preferred to abide by the recommendations of 1854, others chose to follow the lead given by the Despatch of 1859. The conflict of opinion centred mainly round three points: the attitude to indigenous schools; the levy of local taxes; and the claims of primary education to receive a grant-in-aid from Government Revenues. It is not necessary here to go into the protracted discussions that followed, especially as no common conclusion was arrived at and as each Province was allowed to develop on its own lines. But the following narrative of the main events of the period between the Despatch of 1859 and the appointment of the Indian Education Commission in 1882 will assist materially in understanding the *raison d'etre* of the recommendations of the Commission.

(*a*) *Indigenous Schools.*—The Despatch of 1859 led to a keen dispute regarding the agency to be adopted for the spread of primary education. Some argued that the agency of the indigenous schools should be adopted in toto but that Government may, if necessary, maintain only a few schools as model institutions. Others argued that elementary education should be spread as widely as possible through schools directly controlled by Government. There were also some who preferred a compromise between these extreme viewpoints. Ultimately, however, each Province was allowed to develop on

its own lines. The following account of Provincial developments will show how the indigenous schools fared in each province during the period under review.

(*i*) *Madras*.—"Partly in consequence of too exclusive attention to higher education, and partly from the want of adequate funds, the duty of diffusing primary education among the masses was neglected by Government until 1868."[1] In that year, Government revised its educational code and introduced the system of payment by results for primary schools. The policy adopted in Madras was to rely mainly on private effort and to open departmental schools only when private effort was not forthcoming. Available resources were mostly used in encouraging indigenous schools as well as those conducted by missionaries with the result that the spread of education was very rapid. The following statistics[2] speak for themselves:—

Year	*No. of Schools*		*No. of Pupils in*	
	Departmental	Aided and inspected	Departmental schools	Aided and inspected schools
1855-56 ...	85	...	2,093	...
1870-71 ...	98	3,352	5,463	84,239
1881-82 ...	1,263	13,223	46,975	3,13,668

In 1882 the number of unaided indigenous schools known to the Department was stated to be 2,828 with 54,064 pupils.

(*ii*) *Bombay*.—In Bombay, the Education Department relied almost exclusively on its own schools for the

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

spread of primary education and hence the indigenous schools were neglected from the beginning. Prior to 1870, hardly any attempt had been made to assist indigenous schools. In that year, Mr. Peile, the then Director of Public Instruction, framed a special set of rules for assisting indigenous schools; but the extent of the assistance actually afforded may be gauged from the fact that even in 1881-82, only 73 indigenous schools were in receipt of aid although the Department was aware of the existence of as many as 3,954 indigenous schools which gave education to 78,205 pupils.[1] It may also be noted that the Education Commission came to the conclusion that the Bombay Education Department had followed a policy of deliberate inactivity with regard to the practical encouragement of aided schools.

(*iii*) *Bengal.*—In Bengal, on the other hand, the system of primary education had been entirely built up on the indigenous schools. A reference has already been made to the Circle system which was tried in Bengal between 1856-62 for the improvement of indigenous schools. While this was kept going, Government introduced, in 1862, "the Normal School System" according to which the teacher of an indigenous school, or "his relative or probable successor, was sent to a Normal School with a stipend of Rs. 5 a month, under a written engagement with the village that after a year's training he would be received as the teacher with a guaranteed income of not less than Rs. 5. The course of studies at the training school included reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as accounts and mensuration up to the full indigenous standard. Elementary geography and history and the art of teaching were

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission,* p. 67.

also taught."[1] The object of the system was mainly to improve the quality of instruction in indigenous schools by training their teachers and the small financial assistance promised was merely intended to induce the teachers to undergo the training course. But lack of funds came in the way of the extension of either of these systems to a large number of indigenous schools and in 1870-71, only 2,430 schools had been brought under either of them.

In 1872, Sir George Campbell sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 4,00,000 for the spread of mass education through the indigenous schools. He proposed that indigenous schools should be inspected by the Department, and assisted by stipends to teachers of not more than Rs. 5 per mensem or not less than Rs. 2 per mensem. The amount of the stipend was small but it was believed that the villagers would continue to assist the teacher as they used to do in the past and that the stipend paid by Government would be an additional remuneration to the teachers. The object of Sir Campbell's scheme was stated in the following words:—

> "The Lieutenant-Governor's wish is that the money now granted should be used to encourage and develop in rural villages proper indigenous education,—that is, reading, writing, and arithmetic, in the real indigenous language and character of each Province,... Arithmetic and writing are the main subjects in which the people desire instruction, and many books will not be used; those that are used will be of the simplest and cheapest description. . . . It is quite clear that if rural schools are to be popular among ordinary villagers, the teachers must be of the old gurumahasay class, or must come from the same social and intellectual stratum. What is wanted is to teach ordinary village boys enough to enable them to take care of their own interests in their own station of life, as petty

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 96.

shopkeepers, small landholders, ryots, handicraftsmen, weavers, village headmen, boatmen, fishermen and what not. It is beyond all things desirable not to impart at village schools that kind of teaching which in a transition state of society, might induce boys to think themselves above manual labour or ordinary village work. To the really able boys at pathsalas opportunities for advancement will be offered by a chain of scholarships, the gainers of which can pass through the several grades of schools up to a university degree."[1]

This system worked well and a large number of indigenous schools came to be aided by the Department. But very soon, a complaint began to be received that as soon as Government paid a stipend, the villagers reduced their contributions by a proportionate amount. In order to prevent this evil, the system of payment by results was first adopted in the Midnapur district and gradually extended till it practically superseded the stipend system. Payment by results was, on the whole, cheaper than the system of stipends, where a definite lower limit had been imposed. Moreover, Government increased the grant to primary education from Rs. 4,00,000 to more than Rs. 5,00,000. Consequently, a very large number of indigenous schools could be assisted by the Department. The following statistics of 1881-82 speak for themselves:—

1.	Number of Departmental Schools ..	28
2.	Number of pupils in Departmental Schools ..	916
3.	Number of Aided Schools ..	47,374
4.	Number of pupils in Aided Schools ..	8,35,435
5.	Number of Unaided indigenous Schools known to the Department ..	3,265
6.	Number of pupils in the above schools ..	49,238

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 99.

The one defect of the system, however, was the small amount of aid afforded. In 1881-82, this was only Rs. 11 a year per school.

The history of the indigenous schools in these three Provinces has been given in detail because the other Provinces followed one or other of these models with slight variations. As in Bombay, the North-Western Province also relied mainly on the Halkabandi schools, which have been already described, and did not make any attempts to incorporate the indigenous schools. In 1881-82, an enquiry revealed that there were as many as 6,172, unaided indigenous schools in the Province with 61,634 pupils; but the number of aided primary schools in that year was only 243 with 15,019 pupils. Coorg also followed Bombay and supplied primary schools through the direct agency of the Department without making any effort to stimulate private enterprise or to incorporate the indigenous schools in its educational organization. The Punjab followed the model of the North-Western Province. In 1881-82, the number of aided primary schools in the Punjab was only 278 with 14,616 pupils whereas an enquiry showed that there were as many as 13,109 indigenous schools in the Province with 1,35,384 pupils. The Central Provinces followed Bengal and actively encouraged indigenous schools. But there was no strong system of indigenous schools in the Province and hence it had to open a large number of departmental schools. In 1881-82, the Province had 894 departmental schools with 55,745 pupils, 368 aided schools with 18,786 pupils. Berar followed the same policy as in Bombay and generally relied on departmental schools; but it made greater attempts to encourage indigenous schools. In 1881-82, it had 467 departmental schools with 27,844 pupils, 209 aided

schools with 4,212 pupils and 207 unaided schools with 2,672 pupils. Assam was a part of Bengal till 1874 and hence its primary system was also built up on the basis of indigenous schools. In 1881-82, there were in Assam only 7 Government schools with 187 pupils, 1,256 aided schools with 35,643 pupils and 497 unaided schools with 9,733 pupils.

(b) *Finance.*—We now turn to the next point of conflict, viz. the ways and means in which primary education was financed.

The Despatch of 1859 had suggested that local rates should be imposed to meet the cost of mass education. This idea was slightly modified by the Government of India which was of opinion that local rates should be imposed, not only for education, but for all objects of local utility. For instance, Mr. Laing, who was then a member of the executive council of the Governor-General of India and who was described by Howell as "the great exponent of the principle of local rates", observed as under in his budget speech for 1860-61 :—

> "If this great empire is ever to have the roads, the schools, the local police, and the other instruments of civilization which a flourishing country ought to possess, it is simply impossible that the Imperial Government can find either the money or the management."[1]

Accordingly, local rates were generally imposed in all provinces to meet several objects of local expenditure including education. In rural areas, the land revenue supplied a very good basis for the assessment of local rates, and consequently, the local taxes in rural areas took the form of a cess on land revenue, except in Bengal where the existence of the permanent land revenue settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis

[1] *Note on Education in India* by Howell, 1866-67, para 19.

presented an obstacle. In town areas, the usual form of a local rate was a tax on houses and this was imposed and collected through municipalities which came to be established in all provinces during this period. The cess on land revenue was generally intended for roads and education, while the municipalities were entrusted with several duties which included even a payment for the police force.

The work of imposing local rates for education was carried out in all provinces except Bengal in the decade 1861-71. Reference has already been made to the 1 per cent cess on land revenue collected in the North-Western Province for educational purposes. The Punjab was the next to follow this example. It levied a cess of 1 per cent on land revenue as early as 1856-57 although at that time it was not levied in all places. The levy of the cess was made general in 1864. The Province of Oudh imposed a cess of 2½ per cent on land revenue in 1861 and earmarked 1 per cent out of it for education. The Central Provinces followed the example of the North-Western Province and levied the cess at 1 per cent in 1862-63. Two years later, the cess was raised to two per cent because the amount of the one per cent cess was not adequate to meet the requirements. Bombay introduced a cess of one anna on every rupee of land revenue (6¼ per cent) in 1863 and generalised its levy by the Bombay Local Funds Act of 1869. One-third of the cess was earmarked for education. A similar local fund cess was imposed in Sind in 1865. But only half of it was given to all local purposes and the other half was retained by Government as a set-off against expenditure incurred by it for local purposes such as canal clearances, public buildings, etc. Berar imposed a local fund cess of 7½ per cent and earmarked one-

fifth of it for education. Madras passed a Local Funds Act in 1871 and imposed a cess at a rate not exceeding one anna on land revenue but did not prescribe any definite proportion of it to be paid to education. A local cess was introduced in Assam in 1879 but in Bengal, no cess on land revenue was imposed even up to 1882.

The levy of these local fund cesses was very warmly welcomed by the Education Departments. The demand for educational institutions was growing rapidly and the expenditure on education was mounting up. In those days, all additional expenditure had to be sanctioned by the Government of India, and it was, therefore, extremely difficult to obtain additional allotments for education. At this juncture, the levy of the local fund cess came as a great windfall. The following passage from the Report of the Bombay Provincial Committee of the Indian Education Commission describes how the Department looked upon the cess at this time:—

> "From that year (i.e. 1865) primary education was no longer dependent on a capricious assignment of public funds which might increase or decrease according to the accidental favour or disfavour with which the claims of the masses were regarded by higher authority or the oscillations of Indian administration. The education of the masses was now finally secured by a permanent income which could not be diverted from that branch of instruction without breach of faith and consequently without illegality. It was possible therefore not merely to extend largely primary education, but to lay down a far-sighted and definite course of policy which would not be imperilled by unforeseen financial contingencies or fluctuations of revenue."[1]

On the other hand, the Municipal Acts of the various provinces did not give equally happy results, the main cause of the failure being the absence of any statutory provision to the effect that a prescribed

[1] Vol. I, p. 31.

percentage of the total income of municipalities must be spent upon education. The law *permitted* the municipalities to incur expenditure on education but did not *oblige* them to do so. Consequently, the municipalities did not make as great contributions to education as they ought to. How inadequate was the attention which municipalities paid to education generally can be seen from the following statistics[1] given by the Indian Education Commission :—

Province	*Percentage of expenditure on education to the total income of Municipalities.*
Madras	.. 4.09
Bombay	.. 1.17
Bengal	.. 0.48
North-Western Province and Oudh	.. 1.77
Punjab	.. 5.29
Central Provinces	.. 3.01
Assam	.. 0.39
Berar	.. 1.33

In contrast with the above figures, most of the new schools that were being established came to be located in *towns* because it was to these places that public awakening was then confined. As the municipalities did not make adequate contributions to education, the money to support these schools mostly came, not from the taxes raised in the area of the towns, but from local cesses raised in villages. This evil was particularly felt in Bombay. The following statistics[2] of Primary Schools within the municipal areas of the Bombay Province in 1883-84 will give an insight into the problem :—

[1] *Report,* p. 158.
[2] *History of Local Fund Cess (appropriated to education) in the Province of Bombay* by J. P. Naik, pp. 41-2.

1.	Number of Municipalities in the Province		121
2.	Number of Schools maintained in the Municipal areas and shown on the budget of the Local Fund Cess		480
3.	Number of pupils in schools mentioned in item 2		61,867
4.	Fees of pupils in item 3	Rs.	51,708
5.	Local Fund Cess collected in Municipal areas	Rs.	15,483
6.	Municipal grant to schools mentioned in item 2	Rs.	24,031
7.	Miscellaneous receipts	Rs.	699
8.	Provincial grant due to Municipal areas calculated on a population basis	Rs.	25,899
9.	Total assets of schools within Municipal areas (items 4, 5, 6, 7, 8)	Rs.	1,17,820
10.	Total expenditure incurred from Local Fund Cess on schools in item 2	Rs.	2,75,958
11.	Net loss to the Local Fund Cess on account of schools within Municipal areas (item 10 *minus* item 9)	Rs.	1,58,138

On this subject, the Indian Education Commission observed as under:—

"But the complaint has been made that the local fund is properly a rural fund and it should be spent on the villages which contribute it, and not in the towns which only contribute a very small proportion of the cess. Several witnesses of great experience have urged that there should be a redistribution of the financial burden of supporting primary schools, which would set free for rural education funds paid by rural Districts and now appropriated by Municipalities. Their view is supported at considerable length by the Bombay Provincial Committee. Other witnesses have in the same sense argued that the time has arrived when Municipal Boards must be compelled to make more adequate provision for primary education out of the funds at their disposal."[1]

Several intricate problems were connected with the levy and the administration of these local funds for education—both District and Municipal. It will be beyond the scope of this book to go into them in detail.

[1] *Report*, p. 154.

But the following analysis of the system of financing primary education, as it then prevailed, will be helpful to understand the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission :—

(*i*) In Bombay and Madras, the local fund cess was entirely at the disposal of the local boards for expenditure on objects within their purview. But in the Provinces of Northern India, the local funds were also subject to certain deductions on account of works for extension of irrigation or prevention of famine.

(*ii*) In Bombay and Madras, the income from the local fund cess was regarded as a 'fund'—distinct from the revenue of the Provincial Government. Hence, if any unspent balances remained in any year, they could be utilized by the Boards in subsequent years. But in the Provinces of Northern India, the local fund was looked upon as Government revenue placed at the disposal of the boards for local expenditure. Hence, if any amount remained unspent during any year, it lapsed to the Provincial Government.

(*iii*) In Bombay, there was a "District Educational Fund" in each district consisting of Government grant, one-third part of the local fund income, contributions of municipalities within the district, etc. This was a very advantageous system which ensured that all sums allocated to education should be spent on education only. Under this system, unspent balances of any year were available for expenditure on educational objects only during subsequent years and could not be diverted to other objects within the sphere of local boards.

(*iv*) In Bombay, a definite proportion of the local fund cess, viz. one-third, was assigned for education. But in Madras it was not so assigned with the result that education got a much smaller part of the local fund

income than it ought to have. The Indian Education Commission made the following observations on the subject:—

"In the nine years which followed the introduction of the Local Funds Act IV of 1871, education received on the average 9 per cent of the local fund income derived from rates and taxes only, while of the whole local fund income it received only a little more than 6 per cent. According to the wording of section 36 of Act IV of 1871 which assigns to 'the road fund' or public works division of the budget not less than two-thirds of the land cess, together with the net proceeds of all tolls, the assignment to education cannot be called illegal; but it was certainly expected, when the Act was passed, that it would provide 8½ lakhs for education; whereas in 1881-82 the actual expenditure charged to local funds was not 5¼ lakhs."[1]

(*v*) The object to which the local funds were to be applied was also a disputed point. Some argued that it could and should be applied to higher education. Others held the view that the elementary education of the masses had the first claim upon the local funds. In Bombay, the following orders were issued on the subject:—

"1. As a general rule, Local Fund for educational purposes should be restricted, in the first instance, to the support of primary, i.e. vernacular education in any district, town or village, or other easily ascertained division.

2. Under the above head should be understood salaries of village school masters and general charges connected with village schools, building and repairs of village school-houses, and allowances to Masters under training for primary schools.

3. When the actual requirements of a district as regards primary schools have been supplied as far as possible, but not before, the Local Funds Committee may be at liberty to make assignments to other than primary education, as, for instance, the building of Taluka school-houses providing the salaries for Anglo-Vernacular teachers, etc.

4. Until the requirements of a district, town, or village,

[1] *Report*, p. 152.

as regards both primary and Anglo-Vernacular education have been met, Local Committees shall not be at liberty to make assignments to higher or to special education.....

6. Besides providing funds, as far as possible, for primary education, it shall be the duty of Local Funds Committees to undertake the building and repairs of village school-houses. . . .

12. A quota, to be fixed by the Revenue Commissioners should be paid by each Local Fund Committee for the maintenance of extra clerks in the establishments of the Educational Department, rendered necessary for the keeping of accounts, etc.

—G.R., E.D., No. 684 of 1866."

(*vi*) The unit of area which should be considered fit to be entrusted with the management of primary education was also a point in dispute. Some argued that a small unit secures perfect local knowledge and interest and conduces to efficiency. Others preferred a bigger unit such as a district. The practice in the several provinces was not uniform and in 1882, the question was still open.

(*vii*) Perhaps the most disputed point referred to the grant which was payable by Government in support of local funds devoted to education. One view maintained that the local fund cess was just like contributions from the people and was consequently entitled to receive a grant-in-aid from Government. The other view held that the local fund cess was really a tax and hence had no claims to receive a grant-in-aid from Government. The orders of the Government of India itself were conflicting. On some occasions the view had been held that the education of the masses had a claim on Government revenues because the Despatch of 1854 had laid down that the attempts of Government should be directed to the education of the great mass of the people who were utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided

efforts. On other occasions, the view had been held that "the State had never undertaken to provide for the education of the people,"[1] and that the education of the masses must be supported by local funds. The controversy was finally closed by the following Circular No. 63, dated 11-2-1871 from the Government of India:—

"2. The Governor-General-in-Council, therefore considers it desirable to explain on what principle it will be permissible to assign from the sums allotted for educational purposes, grants-in-aid to schools for primary education, and it will rest with the Local Governments, under the new system of financial control, to determine in what localities and to what extent such grants shall from time to time be made.

3. It has been repeatedly declared by the Secretary of State that it is a primary duty to assign funds for the education of those who are least able to help themselves, and that the education of the masses, therefore, has the greatest claim on the State funds. The Government of India desires to maintain this view, but the Grant-in-aid Rules have in practice been found so unsuitable to primary schools, that except in special cases, such grants-in-aid are seldom sanctioned from the General Revenues. It has, moreover, been repeatedly affirmed that we must look to local exertion and to local cesses to supply the funds required for the maintenance of primary schools.

4. These standing orders may seem inconsistent, but they really are not so. The fact is that primary education must be supported both by imperial funds and by local rates. It is not by any means the policy of the Government of India to deny to primary schools assistance from Imperial Revenues; but, on the other hand, no sum that could be spared from those revenues would suffice for the work, and local rates must be raised to effect any sensible impression on the masses. This does not lessen the obligation of Government to contribute as liberally as other demands allow, to supplement the sums raised by local effort. The true policy will be to distribute the imperial funds, so far as such funds are available, in

[1] Letter from Government of India to Government of Bengal, No. 5876 of 28-10-1867, para 5.

proportion to the amount raised by the people from each district.

5. The amount at present allotted for primary education under the several local administrations is small, and it is not expected that the local Governments will in any case diminish it. On the other hand, they will have full liberty to increase the allotment, either from retrenchments in other services, or from savings in other branches of education, and it is permissible to assign, from the Provincial grant, funds in aid of schools mainly supported by contributions from local cesses or municipal rates. A rule, however, should be laid down that the State contribution is not to exceed one-half of the aggregate contributions from all other sources, or one-third of the total expenditure on education in the school concerned.

6. There will be no objection to special exception being made in the case of poor and backward districts, where the population is large, and the rate, owing to the poverty of the people, is insufficient to give the required quota. In such districts, in the interests of civilization and peace, some special efforts have to be made for the extension of primary education, without reference to local contributions.

7. It will also be within the discretion of the local Government to assign from the funds for Provincial services building grants for school houses in aid of contributions from the proceeds of local rates, but with the same limitation as to the proportion of the Government grant, and subject to any further rules that may be in force in the Public Works Department."

The Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, went into ecstacies over these orders and called them "the charter of the educational rights of the local boards."[1] He construed the expression "not to exceed" occurring in the last sentence of para 5 to mean "shall be equal to". He soon realised that he was legally wrong and that the stony hearts in the Finance Department would not be moved by his arguments in support of the moral claims of local funds.

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 159.

The following statistics of expenditure on primary education in 1881-82 will be found very interesting:—

(All figures in thousands of Rupees)

Province	Provincial Funds	Local Board & Municipal Funds	Fees	Other sources	Total
Madras ...	1,68	5,02	3,68	2,87	13,25
Bombay ...	3,46	7,87	1,54	63	13,50
Bengal ...	5,97	13	10,77	4,45	21,32
N.-W. F. Province & Oudh ...	2,16	5,44	55	84	8,99
Punjab ...	97	3,45	62	84	5,88
Central Provinces...	1,00	1,45	22	33	3,00
Assam ...	24	57	17	20	1,18
Coorg ...	4	7	1	—	12
Berar[1] ...	1,25	88	26	1	2,40
Total ...	16,77	24,88	17,82	10,17	69,64

(Taken from the *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, pp. 166-7)

The figures speak for themselves and show not only the wide variations in contributions from local funds, but also the variations in Government grants to the local funds.

(*c*) *Expansion.*—Expansion of primary education depends on two factors—the extent of the funds provided and the cost of the agency employed. The foregoing survey of events has shown that the educational systems of the several provinces of India varied considerably in both the matters, and consequently, expansion of primary education also showed great variations. In Bengal, for instance, the local fund cess had not been imposed; but a large Government grant coupled with the adoption

[1] The Provincial grant in Berar appears very large owing to the peculiar system of accounts but was not really so. The detailed explanation will be found on pp. 171-2 of the *Report of the Indian Education Commission.*

of the agency of indigenous schools helped the Province to achieve considerable expansion. In Bombay, on the other hand, the funds available for education were the largest ; but owing to an almost exclusive reliance on the costlier agency of departmental schools the expansion was not so great as it might otherwise have been. In the Punjab, the agency of departmental schools was adopted although the funds were limited. Consequently, the expansion of primary education was much less than in either of the two provinces mentioned above. The following statistics taken from the report of the Indian Education Commission show the extent of expansion achieved in each province of British India in the year 1881-82 :—

Province	Population	No. of Pupils in Primary Schools (excluding indigenous schools not incorporated in the Departmental system.)
Madras	3,08,35,775	3,60,643
Bombay	1,64,60,668	3,32,688
Bengal	6,81,21,160	8,98,389
North-Western Province & Oudh	4,40,73,530	2,13,238
Punjab	1,88,20,840	1,02,867
Central Provinces	98,33,655	77,737
Assam	48,79,795	38,182
Coorg	1,77,787	3,069
Berar	26,71,917	34,728
Total ...	19,58,75,127	20,61,541

These figures show what great amount of work had yet to be achieved. The following extract from the report of the Commission gives a good picture of the situation, The extreme educational backwardness of India at that time will be realised all the more if it

is remembered that the percentages given in the extract are calculated on the 26,43,978 pupils in *all* educational institutions and not on the 20,61,541 pupils in primary schools only :—

"In the area to which our enquiries are confined, containing 859,844 square miles, with 552,379 villages and towns, inhabited by 202,604,080 persons, there were only 112,218 schools and 2,643,978 Indian children or adults at school in 1881-82. The proportion of pupils both male and female, to the population of school-going age, calculated in accordance with the principles described in Chapter II,[1] is shown below :—

Province	Percentage of males	Percentage of females
Madras	17.78	1.48
Bombay { British Districts ...	24.96	1.85
Bombay { Native States ...	17.85	0.93
Bengal	20.82	0.80
North-Western Provinces & Oudh ...	8.25	0.28
Punjab	12.11	0.72
Central Provinces	10.49	0.44
Assam	14.61	0.46
Coorg	22.44	2.86
Hyderabad Assigned Districts ...	17.10	0.22
Total for India ...	16.28	0.84

These figures exclude the attendance in schools for Europeans and Eurasians, and in unattached institutions for professional or technical education, they include that in all other institutions known to the Department in 1881-82. The most advanced Province of India still fails to reach 75 per cent of its male children of the school-going age and 98 per cent of its female children of that age; while in one province, with its total population of both sexes exceeding 44 millions, nearly 92 boys in every hundred are growing up in ignorance, and female education has hardly begun to make any progress. The census returns are equally conclusive in showing the magnitude of the work that remains before education in India can be placed upon a national basis. Taking the male population of Ajmer

[1] At 15 per cent of the population (*vide Report* p. 28).

and of the nine provinces with which our Report deals, which exceeds 103 millions, about 94¾ millions are wholly illiterate; while of the female population, numbering about 99,700,000 no less than 99½ millions are returned as unable to read or write."[1]

[1] *Report*, p. 584.

CHAPTER XVI

PRIMARY EDUCATION (*Contd.*)

(1882-1902)

WE have seen in the last chapter that the progress of primary education was extremely slow in the period 1854-82 on account, amongst others, of the following causes :—

(*i*) Emphasis on the spread of secondary and collegiate education;

(*ii*) Neglect of indigenous schools;

(*iii*) Lack of adequate funds; and

(*iv*) Defective organization.

It was, therefore, natural that when the **Indian Education Commission** was appointed in 1882 to review the educational system of India, its attention should be mainly directed to the subject of primary education. The resolution of Government appointing the Commission observed as under :—

> "It is the desire of the Governor-General-in-Council that the Commission should specially bear in mind the great importance which the Government attaches to the subject of primary education. The development of elementary education was one of the main objects contemplated by the Despatch of 1854. Attention was specially directed in that Despatch to the question 'how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, might be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts'; and it was desired that 'the active measures of Government should be more especially directed for the future to this object.' Although the matter was thus prominently and at the outset pressed upon the attention of the Indian administrations,

there can, His Excellency in Council believes, be very little doubt that, owing to a variety of circumstances, more progress has up to the present time been made in high and middle than in primary education. The Government of India is not disposed in any way to regret this advance. It would be altogether contrary to its policy to check or hinder in any degree the further progress of high or middle education. But the Government holds that the different branches of public instruction should, if possible, move forward together, and with more equal step than hitherto, and the principal object, therefore, of the enquiry of the Commission should be 'the present state of elementary education throughout the empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved'."

Consequently, the subject of primary education figures prominently in the report of the Indian Education Commission and some of its most important recommendations refer to the spread of elementary education among the people. They can be conveniently divided under the following five heads:—

(*a*) Policy;
(*b*) Legislation and administration;
(*c*) Encouragement of indigenous schools;
(*d*) School administration; and
(*e*) Finance.

2. **Policy.** Regarding the policy of Government towards primary education, the Commission recommended:—

(*a*) That primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the university.

(*b*) That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous

efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.

(*c*) That the principle laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution dated 11th October 1844, be re-affirmed, i.e., that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government preference be always given to candidates who can read and write.

(*d*) That primary education be extended in backward districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of the Department pending the creation of school-boards, or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.

3. **Legislation and Administration.** Following the method adopted in England where, under the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876, the whole country was divided into a large number of school-districts for each of which a local committee with powers to levy taxes, to provide schools, and to compel attendance of children of a given age, had been established, the Indian Education Commission recommended that the control of primary education should be made over to District and Municipal Boards. Its recommendations on this subject are given below. No comment is needed except to state that the idea of compulsory attendance of school children which had already been adopted in England is here conspicuous by its absence :—

(*a*) That an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of, primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province.

(*b*) That the area of any municipal or rural unit of local self-government that may now or hereafter exist be declared to be a school-district, and school-boards be established for the management and control of schools placed under their jurisdiction in each such district.

(*c*) That the duties of municipal and local boards in controlling or assisting schools under their supervision be regulated by local enactments suited to the circumstances of each province.

(*d*) That the control of each school-board over all schools within the said school-district be subject to the following provisions :—

(*i*) that it be open to the local government to exclude any school or any class of schools, other than schools of primary instruction for boys, from the control of such school-board ;

(*ii*) that any school which is situated in the said school-district and which receives no assistance either from the board or the Department, continue, if the managers so desire it, to be independent of the control of the school-board ;

(*iii*) that the managers of any institution which receives aid either from the board or the Department continue to exercise in regard to such institution full powers of management subject to such limitations as the local government may from time to time impose as a condition of receiving aid ;

(*iv*) that the school-board may delegate to any body appointed by itself or subordinate to it any duties in regard to any school or class of institutions under its control which it thinks fit so to delegate.

(*e*) That the local government declare from time to time what funds constituting a school-fund shall be vested in any school-board for educational purposes, and what proportion of such school-fund shall be assigned to any class of education.

(*f*) That it be the duty of every school-board :—

(*i*) to prepare an annual budget of its income and expenditure ;

(*ii*) to determine what schools shall be wholly maintained at the cost of the school-fund, what schools are eligible for grants-in-aid, and which of them shall receive aid ;

(*iii*) to keep a register of all schools, whether maintained at the cost of public funds, or aided or unaided, which are situated in its school-district ;

(*iv*) to construct and repair school-houses or to grant aid towards their construction or repair ;

(*v*) generally to carry out any other of the objects indicated in the various recommendations of the Commission, which in the opinion of the local government can best

be secured by legislative enactment, or by rules made under the Act.

(*g*) That the appointment, reduction of salary, or dismissal, of teachers in schools maintained by the board be left to the school-board; provided that the said board shall be guided in its appointments by any rules as to qualifications which may be laid down from time to time by the Department; and provided that an appeal shall lie to the Department against any order of dismissal or reduction of salary.

(*h*) That the first appointment of schoolmasters in municipal or local board schools be left to the town or district boards, with the proviso that the masters be certificated or approved by the Department, and their subsequent promotion or removal be regulated by the boards, subject to the approval of the Department.

(*i*) That an appeal lie to the Department against any order of a board in regard to such matters as a local government shall specify.

(*j*) That every school-board be required to submit to the local government through the Department an annual report of its administration, together with its accounts of income and expenditure, in such form and on such date as shall be prescribed by the local government; and thereon the local government declare whether the existing supply of schools of any class, of which the supervision has been entrusted to such board, is sufficient to secure adequate proportionate provision for the education of all classes of the community; and in the event of the said Government declaring that the supply is insufficient, it determine from what sources and in what manner the necessary provision of schools shall be made.

(*k*) That it be incumbent upon every local government or administration to frame a code of rules for regulating the conduct of education by municipal and local boards in the provinces subject to such local government or administration.

(*l*) That municipal and local boards administering funds in aid of primary schools adopt the rules prescribed by the Department for aiding such schools, and introduce no change therein without the sanction of the Department.

4. **Encouragement of Indigenous Schools.** On the subject of indigenous schools, the Commission was of

opinion that these schools deserved encouragement and incorporation in the official system of education. It will be recalled that the indigenous schools were most neglected in Bombay and hence the observations of the Commission on the policy of the Bombay Education Department give a good idea of the value which the Commission set on the indigenous schools. It observed:

> "The policy of inactivity in regard to the practical encouragement of indigenous schools in the Bombay Presidency has been so deliberate, that we have given at length the arguments which have induced the Department to adopt it. Admitting, however, the comparative inferiority of indigenous institutions, we consider that efforts should now be made to encourage them. They have survived a severe competition, and have thus proved that they possess both vitality and popularity. Numerous examples furnished by the history of education in Madras, as well as in Bengal, prove the possibility of adapting the indigenous system to modern requirements, and while the cess schools of Bombay will supply a valuable model, the indigenous schools, if recognised and assisted as we shall presently propose, may be expected to improve their method and fill a useful position in the State system of national education."[1]

The Commission, therefore, recommended:—

(*a*) That an indigenous school be defined as one established or conducted by natives of India on native methods.

(*b*) That all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognised and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever.

(*c*) That where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognised as an important means of extending elementary education.

(*d*) That boards be required to give elementary indigenous schools free play and development, and to establish fresh schools of their own only where the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted.

At the same time, the Commission was aware of the

[1] *Report*, p. 68.

fact that the indigenous schools which were largely conducted by persons of certain advanced castes may not, unless special measures were adopted to that end, foster the educational development of all castes and communities and hence recommended :—

(*a*) That aided indigenous schools, not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all classes and castes of the community, special aid being, if necessary, assignable on account of low-caste pupils.

(*b*) That such a proportion between special and other elementary indigenous schools be maintained in each town and district as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes.

The Commission held the view that the District and Municipal Boards consisting of Indians would be more sympathetic to the indigenous schools than the Education Department had been. Its observations on this subject are very interesting :—

"The agency for assisting indigenous schools will necessarily be the agency of control. We attach great importance to the connection of all agencies of primary education with the various schemes of self-government now under consideration. Local boards, whether municipal or rural, are likely to sympathise with the indigenous system where it is valued by the people. In their hands improvement will not involve destruction. They will know what vernacular the village or town population prefer, and what subjects of instruction are practically useful. These boards will generally be entrusted with the control of elementary education in departmental schools, and their attitude towards indigenous schools may be expected to cast light on the vexed question of the relative popularity of the two systems. We therefore recommend that, *where municipal and local boards exist, the registration, supervision and encouragement of indigenous elementary schools, whether aided or unaided, be entrusted to them, provided that such boards shall not interfere in any way with any schools which do not desire to receive aid or to be subject to the supervision of the boards.* This will not only secure the public recognition of such indigenous schools by local

bodies entrusted with power, but will also enable the boards themselves to take a wide survey of the field of indigenous agency. The pressure of public opinion, as well as their natural instincts, will, it may be hoped, lead local boards in the direction of popular sentiment. If such boards are entrusted with the control of primary education as well as with the funds to supply it, they will doubtless give indigenous schools fair play; and, when they become efficient, a preference over the more expensive institutions maintained wholly by municipal or rural boards. We therefore recommend that *the aid given to indigenous elementary schools be a charge against the funds at the disposal of municipal and local boards, where such exist, and that every indigenous school, which is registered for aid, receive from such boards the grants to which it is entitled under the rules*..... It is not desirable to interfere with the discretion of boards in the exercise of the large powers which have been, or are about to be, conferred on them. At the same time it is necessary to provide a sufficient check upon their proceedings in order to ensure a proper observance of the conditions of aid and of the principles of administration which have been suggested. We therefore recommend that *one of the local inspecting officers be an ex-officio member of the municipal or district local board*..... The association of the inspecting officer with the local board has not only been advocated by several native witnesses whose opinion is entitled to consideration, but it also seems to be the best mode of minimising interference from outside, while giving the boards timely and suitable advice in the discharge of their responsible functions. In order that the educational officers may be sufficiently acquainted with the facts to enable them to render such advice, we recommend that *the officers of the Education Department keep a list of all elementary indigenous schools and assist the boards in selecting the schools to be registered for aid and in securing a proportionate provision of education for all classes of the community*."[1]

Turning to the question of grants to indigenous schools, the Commission recommended the adoption of the system of payment by results. This was not a happy

[1] *Report*, pp. 76-8.

recommendation. A better system would have been that of 'capitation grants'—a system that has always led to quick expansion and is invaluable when the main objective of the policy is a rapid advance to universal education. But the Commission could not see its way to adopt it in India. It was pointed out in Chapter X that the Commission recommended that the system of payment by results should be abandoned in so far as *collegiate education* was concerned. We have also seen, in Chapter XIII, that the Commission did not advise either the complete acceptance or the complete rejection of the system in so far as grants to *secondary schools* were concerned. But the Commission was definitely of the opinion that the system of payment by results was the best method of assisting *indigenous schools* and recommended its universal adoption. The decision was not a happy one. It led to the domination of the system in all the provincial rules of grant-in-aid to primary schools till a new lead was given by Lord Curzon in the early years of this century.

Lastly, the Commission suggested that an attempt should be made to improve the teaching in indigenous schools, gradually and steadily, and with this end in view, made the following recommendations:—

(*a*) That a steady and gradual improvement of indigenous schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their personnel or curriculum as possible.

(*b*) That special encouragement be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training.

(*c*) That the standards of examination be arranged to suit each province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous system, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction.

5. **School Administration.** The following recommendations of the Commission on this subject speak for themselves :—

(*a*) That the upper primary and lower primary examinations be not made compulsory in any province.

(*b*) That examinations by inspecting officers be conducted as far as possible *in situ,* and all primary schools receiving aid be invariably inspected *in situ.*

(*c*) That schoolhouses and furniture be of the simplest and most economical kind.

(*d*) That the standards of primary examinations in each province be revised with a view to simplification, and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health, and the industrial arts; but that no attempt be made to secure general uniformity throughout India.

(*e*) That care be taken not to interfere with the freedom of managers of aided schools in the choice of text-books.

(*f*) That promotion from class to class be not necessarily made to depend on the results of one fixed standard of examinations uniform throughout the province.

(*g*) That physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school-drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school.

(*h*) That all inspecting officers and teachers be directed to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of the children, and that, for the guidance of the masters, a special manual be prepared.

(*i*) That as much elasticity as possible be permitted both as regards the hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the attendance of scholars is required, especially in agricultural villages and in backward districts.

(*j*) That the vernacular, in which instruction shall be imparted in any primary school, maintained by any municipal or local board, be determined by the school committee of management, subject to revision by the municipal or local

board; provided that if there be any dissenting minority in the community, who represent a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools, it shall be incumbent on the Department to provide for the establishment of such classes or schools, and it shall be incumbent on such municipal or local board to assign to such classes or schools a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds.

6. **Finance.** On the most important subject of finance, the Commission made the following recommendations:

(*a*) That primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction, which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.

(*b*) That in all board-schools, a certain proportion of pupils be admissible as free students on the ground of poverty; and in the case of special schools, established for the benefit of poorer classes a general or larger exemption from payment of fees be allowed under proper authority for special reasons.

(*c*) That, subject to the exemption of a certain proportion of free students on account of poverty, fees, whether in money or kind, be levied in all aided schools; but the proceeds be left entirely at the disposal of the school-managers.

(*d*) That the Municipal School Fund consist of—

(*i*) a fair proportion of municipal revenues, to be fixed in each case by the local government;

(*ii*) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the municipal school fund;

(*iii*) any assignment that may be made to the municipal school fund from the local fund;

(*iv*) any assignment from provincial funds;

(*v*) any other funds that may be entrusted to the municipality for the promotion of education; and

(*vi*) any unexpended balance of the school fund from previous years.

(*e*) That the Local Board's School Fund consist of—

(*i*) a distinct share of the general local fund, which share shall not be less than a minimum proportion to be prescribed for each province;

(*ii*) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school fund;

(*iii*) any contribution that may be assigned by municipal boards;

(*iv*) any assignment made from provincial funds;

(*v*) any other funds that may be entrusted to the local boards for the promotion of education; and

(*vi*) any unexpended balance of the school fund from previous years.

(*f*) That the general control over primary school expenditure be vested in the school boards, whether municipal or local, which may now exist or may hereafter be created for self-government in each province.

(*g*) That the cost of maintaining or aiding primary schools in each school district, and the construction and repair of board schoolhouses, be charged against the municipal or local board school fund so created.

A reference to the analysis of the system of financing primary education as it existed between 1859 and 1882 given in the last chapter will show that many defects of the system were eliminated by these recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. To begin with, the idea of having a *fund* for primary education was a distinct advance; *secondly,* the separation of the Municipal Fund for education from the Rural Fund for the purpose prevented the parasitic growth of the education of towns on the taxes paid by the inhabitants of villages; *thirdly,* the principle that primary education has an almost exclusive claim on local funds was firmly enunciated; and *lastly,* the duty of Government to aid the local funds was again reiterated.

But the picture has its dark side also. For example, the Commission did not define the expression "a large claim on provincial revenues" which occurs in recommendation (*a*) quoted above. It may mean anything or nothing. The vagueness of this recommendation was justified by the Commission on two grounds: *firstly,* it was argued that conditions varied so greatly from

province to province that it was impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule. For instance, Government grant to primary education in Bengal, where no cess had been imposed, must naturally be assessed on different principles from the grant in Bombay where a very large revenue could be obtained by the local cesses. *Secondly,* the Commission thought that it was not called upon to consider the financial aspects of its proposals. It said :—

> "We do not consider that we are called upon to suggest measures for increasing the ways and means of education. We have stated the opinions of witnesses in regard to municipal obligations, and to the treatment of education at the hands of local boards. We have also explained the responsibilities and powers conferred on local governments under the scheme of decentralization as now developed. The tables given in this chapter will show that various funds contribute more liberally in some provinces than in others to the cost of education, and the liberality of one part of India may afford an example to local governments or to local boards elsewhere. We believe that still greater efforts are generally demanded."[1]

Nevertheless, it is possible to understand the general trend of the opinion of the Commission by a careful analysis of Chapters IV and XII of its Report. It may be stated briefly as under :—

(*a*) The main responsibility for the spread of primary education rests upon the local funds and the provincial Government plays only a subordinate role by giving suitable grant-in-aid to local funds.

(*b*) Local funds, even when raised by legislative sanction, are really equivalent to funds raised by the people themselves and are, therefore, entitled to claim a grant-in-aid from Government.

(*c*) The levy of the local funds does not diminish, but rather increases, the obligation of the State to help those who are least able to help themselves and yet come forward to supply local resources for their education.

(*d*) The ideal to be kept in view by the provincial gov-

[1] *Report,* pp. 583-4.

ernments in aiding local funds is enunciated in the letter from the Government of India, No. 63, Home Department, dated 11th February 1871, that is, Government grant to local funds should be at the rate of half the local assets or one-third of the total expenditure.

A little calculation will show the utter inadequacy of the above proposals of the Commission. The population of British India was then about 2,000 lakhs. At 15 per cent the number of children of school-going age would be 300 lakhs. At that time the cost per pupil in a departmental school was Rs. 4-6-5 of which Government bore Rs. 0-15-4, Local Funds bore Rs. 2-9-11 and Municipal Funds bore Rs. 0-4-6, while the cost in an aided school was Rs. 3-7-1 of which Government and Local Funds bore Rs. 1-2-0. Even assuming that all children would be educated in aided schools only, the total cost to Government and Local Funds on account of universal education would have been about Rs. 337 lakhs. As stated before[1] the total expenditure on primary education in 1882 was Rs. 16.77 lakhs from Provincial Revenues and Rs. 24.88 lakhs from Local Funds. Under the proposals of the Commission, the increase in expenditure on primary education from Government Funds would have been more than 500 per cent—from Rs. 17 lakhs to Rs. 112 lakhs, and that in the expenditure from Local Funds would have been about 800 per cent—from Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 224 lakhs. Obviously the question was of immense importance and the ways and means of raising these huge sums—from the standpoint of that period—ought to have received a much closer attention at the hands of the Commission and its recommendations ought to have been far more definite than to say that "still greater efforts are generally demanded" or that "the liberality of one part

[1] *Vide* p. 390.

of India may afford an example to local Governments or Local Boards elsewhere." This disregard of the financial implications of the problem robs the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission of a large part of their utility.

7. **Events of the Period of 1882 to 1902.** Some of the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission were immediately accepted by Government. Special reference must be made to the scheme of Local Self-Government which was introduced by Lord Ripon. Henceforward, the history of primary education in India is indissolubly connected with the growth of Local Self-Government. A detailed study of the problem is beyond the scope of this book; but the following brief notes will be of assistance for an understanding of the future history of primary education.

In his famous resolution on this subject, Lord Ripon observed that Local Self-Government was to be looked upon, not "as a means of devolution of authority in administration and decentralization of financial resources but as a means of popular education by which alone progressive communities could cope with the increasing problems of Government"; and directed that active measures should be taken to develop local bodies in India. His view was not received well in all quarters and some Provincial Governments pointed out that his proposals would lead to a loss of efficiency. But he affirmed that, in course of time, efficiency was bound to follow as local knowledge and local interest were brought to bear upon the problems of administration. He held the view that it was not only bad policy but sheer waste of power not to utilize the services of the growing intelligent class of public-spirited men in the country and said that local bodies must succeed—

(*a*) if adequate resources were made available;
(*b*) if transfer of duties involving additional expenditure was simultaneously followed by transfer of additional and adequate resources; and
(*c*) if Government officers "set themselves to foster sedulously the small beginnings of the independent political life and came to realise that the system really opened to them fairer field for the exercise of administrative and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it superseded."

In accordance with this policy, Local Boards or Councils and Municipal Boards or Committees or Councils were established in all the provinces of India. Primary education was declared to be an obligatory duty of these local bodies although secondary and higher education was not excluded from their activities. It was generally laid down that the first duty of the Local Boards was towards primary education. In some provinces rules were framed prescribing the minimum percentage of its income which a local body ought to devote to education and directing that no money should be spent on secondary or higher education unless the claims of primary education were adequately provided for. Rules were also framed prescribing the powers and duties of local bodies over primary education and grant-in-aid codes were drawn up. Broadly speaking, therefore, the administrative and legislative measures recommended by the Indian Education Commission were generally carried out, and subject to rules made in that behalf, the control of primary education was transferred to local bodies. The extent of this transfer of control, it must be remembered, varied from province to province; even in the same province, it was

greater in the case of the municipalities where public opinion was more developed than in the case of local boards where public awakening was not appreciable. But the important point to be noticed is that a step, however small, was definitely taken in a direction from which it was next to impossible to retract.

Coming to the recommendations of the Commission regarding indigenous schools, we find that their acceptance was not universal except for the adoption of the system of payment by results. The following statistics tell their own tale:—

Province	1881-82		1901-02	
	No. of Departmental or Board Schools	No. of Private Schools Aided	No. of Departmental and Board Schools	No. of Private Schools Aided
Madras ...	1,263	7,414	2,836	11,125
Bombay ...	3,811	196	4,670	1,929
Bengal ...	28	47,374	26	36,046
North-West Frontier ...	...	...	135	17
United Provinces ...	5,561	243	4,598	2,463
Punjab ...	1,549	278	1,802	636
Central Provinces ...	894	368	931	864
Assam ...	7	1,256	1,260	1,482
Berar ...	467	209	640	400
Coorg ...	57	3	70	4

It would appear that Assam had abandoned its old policy and gone in a direction contrary to that recommended by the Commission. Berar, Coorg, and the Punjab continued in their old groove. The United Provinces and Bombay showed considerable improvement. But in 1881-82 Bombay had 3,954 indigenous schools with 78,205 pupils and the United Provinces had 6,172 schools with 61,634 pupils. Hence it must be concluded that a majority of the indigenous schools was allowed

to die out in these provinces and only a minority was incorporated into the departmental system. Bengal showed a reduction in the number of aided schools and a rise in unaided schools. There were 3,265 unaided schools in 1881-82; but their number in 1901-02 was as high as 11,630. Hence, the policy of Bengal cannot be said to be fully in accord with the recommendations of the Commission, although it did not multiply departmental schools.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the problem of the indigenous schools ceased to exist. In provinces where they were incorporated into the educational system, they became an integral part of the system itself and hence lost their "indigenous" character that was so well described by the Indian Education Commission. On the other hand, they died of sheer neglect or competition in provinces where they were deliberately treated as the 'untouchables' in the caste system of the Education Department.

Turning to the recommendations of the Commission on the policy regarding primary education and its finance, we find that they were not carried out by the Provincial Governments. As stated in Chapters X and XIII, there was a rapid expansion of collegiate and secondary education during the twenty years following the report of the Commission. Most of the additional funds were, therefore, taken up by these two branches of the educational system and primary education had to starve. The expenditure on primary education from Government funds was Rs. 16.77 lakhs in 1881-82 and it rose only to Rs. 16.92 lakhs in 1901-02! The local bodies did a considerable service to the cause of mass education because their contributions to the primary education fund in 1901-02 totalled Rs. 46.1 lakhs as against Rs. 24.9 lakhs in 1881-82. But in the absence

of any substantial increase in the contribution from Government, no great expansion of primary education could be achieved and the various branches of the educational system continued to march with an even more unequal step than ever before.

Chapter XVII

PRIMARY EDUCATION (*Contd.*)

(1902-1921)

We saw in Chapter IX that there arose, towards the beginning of the present century, a great movement in favour of the reform of the educational system as a whole. The repercussions of this movement on secondary and university education have already been dealt with in the preceding chapters. Even more important than these, however, were its repercussions on primary education. Indian public opinion had now begun to demand rapid expansion of primary education and the introduction of compulsion. Official opinion presumably inspired by events in England where a new era in elementary education had been introduced by the Education Act of 1902, began to demand substantial improvement in quality by such measures as the training of primary teachers, enhancement in their salaries, provision of adequate equipment, etc. Whichever of these two views might have been adopted by Government, it was clear that a large increase in the cost of primary education was inevitable. It was also realised that the resources of the local bodies being limited, they would not be able to pay two-thirds of the total cost of primary education. It became evident, therefore, that the financial policy recommended by the Indian Education Commission had outlived its utility, and that a reform of primary education was impossible unless Government decided to shoulder a large part of the expenditure involved.

2. **Lord Curzon's Lead.** It is to be said to the credit of Lord Curzon that he diagnosed the malady correctly and directed that the Provincial Governments should devote larger amounts to primary education. In his Resolution on Educational Policy dated 11th March, 1904, he observed:—

"14. Primary education is the instruction of the masses, through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best stimulate their intelligence and fit them for their position in life. It was found in 1854 that the consideration of measures to this end had been too much neglected and a considerable increase of expenditure on primary education was then contemplated. The Education Commission recommended in 1883, that 'the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement should be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed in a still larger measure than before.' The Government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the State. They undertake this responsibility, not merely on general grounds, but because, as Lord Lawrence observed in 1868, "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration, and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people." To the people themselves, moreover, the lack of education is now a more serious disadvantage than it was in more primitive days. By the extension of railways the economic side of agriculture in India has been greatly developed, and the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world, and has been involved in transactions in which an illiterate man is at a great disadvantage. The material benefits attaching to education have at the same time increased with the development of schemes for introducing improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks, for strengthening the legal position of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition.

15. How, then, do matters stand in respect of the extension among the masses of primary education? The population of British India is over two hundred and forty millions. It is commonly reckoned that fifteen per cent of the population are of school-going age. According to this standard there are more than eighteen millions of boys who ought now to be at school, but of these only a little more than one-sixth are actually receiving primary education. If the statistics are arranged by provinces, it appears that out of a hundred boys of an age to go to school, the number attending primary schools of some kind ranges from between eight and nine in the Punjab and the United Provinces, to twenty-two and twenty-three in Bombay and Bengal. In the census of 1901 it was found that only one in ten of the male population, and only seven in a thousand of the female population were literate. These figures exhibit the vast dimensions of the problem, and show how much remains to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction can approach the standard recognised as indispensable in more advanced countries.

16. While the need for education grows with the growth of population, the progress towards supplying it is not now so rapid as it was in former years. In 1870-71, there were 16,473 schools with 607,320 scholars; in 1881-82 there were 82,916 with 2,061,541 scholars. But by 1891-92 these had only increased to 97,109 schools with 2,837,607 scholars,[1] and the figures of 1901-02 (98,538 schools with 3,268,726 scholars[1]) suggest that the initial force of expansion is somewhat on the decline; indeed the last year of the century showed a slight decrease as compared with the previous year. For purposes of exact comparison some allowances have to be made for differences in the basis of the statistics but their broad effect is not altered by these modifications. Nor has the rate of growth of primary schools kept pace with that of secondary schools, in which the number of scholars has considerably more than doubled during the last twenty years. It may be said indeed that the expansion of primary schools has received a check in recent years from the calamities of famine and plague; and it is further impeded by the indifference of the

[1] Figures for Burma are included.

more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of primary education. These, however, are minor obstacles, which would soon be swept away if the main difficulty of finding the requisite funds for extending primary education could be overcome.

17. The expenditure upon primary education does not admit of exact statement, since the cost of the instruction given in the lower classes of secondary schools is not separately shown, nor is the expenditure on the administration and inspection of primary schools capable of separate calculation. But the direct outlay from public funds upon primary schools stands as follows :—

—	1886-87	1891-92	1901-02
From Provincial Funds ...	16,00,239	13,43,343	16,92,514
From Local & Municipal Funds	26,07,624	35,86,208	46,10,387
Total ...	42,07,863	49,29,551	63,02,901

18. On a general view of the question the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues; and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation. The Government of India believe that local Governments are cordially in agreement with them in desiring this extension, and will carry it out to the limits allowed by the financial conditions of each province."

This declaration of the policy by the Indian Government marked the beginning of a new era in the history of primary education. Larger grants from Government funds now began to be sanctioned for primary education; and this had its natural effect in increasing the expenditure from other sources also. Consequently, there was a considerable increase in the

number of pupils attending primary schools. The following statistics compare the enrolment in primary schools for the years 1881-82, 1901-02 and 1911-12 :—

—	1881-82	1901-02	1911-12
1. Number of recognised primary schools ...	82,916	93,604	1,18,262
2. Number of scholars in above	20,61,541	30,76,671	48,06,736

N.B.—Figures of all years include some Indian States and exclude Burma.

It will be seen that the increase in the enrolment of primary schools in the *ten* years from 1901-02 to 1911-12 was nearly twice the increase in the enrolment during the *twenty* years following the report of the Indian Education Commission.

3. **Abandoning of the System of Payment by Results.** Consequent upon the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission, the system of payment by results was universally adopted, between 1882 and 1902, as a means (though not the only means) of assessing grants to private schools. In Madras and Bombay, well-managed primary schools were aided on a system of fixed grants; but the number of schools so aided was extremely small as compared with those aided on the system of payment by results. In Bengal, the result grant reigned supreme, while in the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam, the result grant was only a part of the annual grant to the school, the remaining being either fixed or dependent upon other tests. But under the lead given by Lord Curzon, the system of payment by results was

universally abandoned and replaced by more scientific and advanced methods of grant-in-aid.

It is not necessary to go into the details of all the complicated systems of aid that grew up in the several provinces. But the following passage from the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07, will give an idea of their general features:—

"The systems of grant-in-aid as they stand after the wholesale reconstruction which has taken place during the quinquennium have now been enumerated. At first sight they are almost bewildering in their manifold variety. They range from the extreme of simplicity in Madras to the extreme of complication in Bengal and Burma. Some of the grants run annually, some for a term of years; some are of an amount exactly ascertainable beforehand and prescribed in the Code, others are determined at the end of the year on fixed principles, others depend upon the discretion of the authorities after considering the circumstances of the school. In one province they are paid by the department out of provincial revenues, in others they are paid by local boards upon a scale departmentally laid down, in others the local boards may, within prescribed limits, determine the scale and its basis. Some provinces make no conditions as to the funds that shall be forthcoming from private sources to meet the grant, others make conditions under which the amount to be supplied from private sources ranges from one-sixth (Assam) to two-thirds of the expenditure (Bombay); one excludes the fees and another includes the fees, when reckoning the private sources. The bases on which the grants are assessed consist of the following, taken separately or together:—

Number of teachers.
Qualifications of teachers.
Pupil teachers.
Number of scholars in attendance.
Regularity of attendance.
Subjects taught.
Efficiency of the teaching as judged by inspection.
Efficiency of the teaching as judged by examination.

Efficiency of the teaching as judged by the number of children in upper classes.
School premises and apparatus.
General need and merits of the school.
Contributions from private sources.
Central managing body receiving lump grants."[1]

These changes were, on the whole, helpful to the cause of primary education although the amount of aid given to schools was still inadequate. As the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07, observed the result grant had carried 'the principle of stimulus' to excess, and 'the change to a greater stability in the rates of grant had been generally beneficial.'

4. **Gokhale's Efforts**. Although the expansion of primary education had been fairly rapid under the new policy adopted by Lord Curzon, it could not satisfy Indian public opinion which was demanding the introduction of universal compulsory education. It was pointed out that even in 1911-12, the percentage of literacy in India was only about 6 and that only 23.8 per cent of the boys of school-going age were at school. The percentage of the girls of school-going age at school was as low as 2.7! It was also urged that although the rate of increase in the number of pupils in primary schools had become faster, it had not become fast enough; that the rate of increase was very slow compared with the distance that had to be travelled before primary education could be universally diffused; and that even if the number of boys at school continued to increase at the then rate of increase and even if there was no increase in population, several generations would elapse before all the boys of school age got into school. Public opinion, therefore, began to

[1] Vol. I, para 416.

demand the introduction of compulsion which alone could secure universal education within the shortest time. This demand was strengthened by the fact that the Gaekwar of Baroda introduced compulsory education throughout his State in 1906. The public were not slow to point out that what was done by the Gaekwar for his State, may easily be done by the British Government for its own territories.

The great exponent of this demand was the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who, as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, made heroic attempts to persuade Government to accept the ideal of compulsory education. On 19th March 1910, he moved the following resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council:—

> "That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals."

In a very able speech introducing the bill, Mr. Gokhale drew a touching picture of the educational backwardness of India, and with a view to spreading mass education as quickly as possible, suggested a concrete programme for adoption by Government. This programme consisted of several proposals, some of which were later on embodied in his bill for compulsory education. The remaining were as under:—

(1) There should be a Secretary specially for education.

(2) Education should be made a "divided head", that is to say, the cost of education should be shared between the Provincial and Central Governments. There should be a definite programme for education, just as there was a programme for railways, and it should be carried out steadily year after year.

(3) A statement describing the progress of education should be included in the budget statement.

Mr. Gokhale withdrew the resolution on an assurance from Government that the whole question would be examined most carefully. It is, however, interesting to note that of the three proposals mentioned above the first was immediately accepted by Government and a Department of Education was created under the Government of India in 1910.[1] Similarly, the third proposal of Mr. Gokhale was also accepted and the Government of India began to publish yearly reviews of educational progress in India. Unfortunately, however, the most important proposal—the second—was rejected mainly on the ground that education was a subject almost wholly within the sphere of Provincial Governments.

On 16th March 1911, Mr. Gokhale returned to the attack and introduced his bill "to make better provision for the extension of elementary education" which embodied most of the proposals of his speech dated 19th March 1910. This bill was based mainly on the Compulsory Education Acts of England, 1870 and 1876, and on the Irish Education Act of 1892. As it had a great influence on the subsequent development of compulsory education in India, it deserves a detailed analysis.

The following quotation from the statement of objects and reasons gives a clear idea of the main features of the bill :—

"The object of this Bill is to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country. The experience of other countries has established beyond dispute the fact that the only effective way to ensure a wide diffusion of elementary education among the mass of the people is by a resort to compulsion in some form or the other. And the time has come when a beginning at least should be made in this direction in India.

[1] Prior to 1910, education was under the Home Department.

The Bill is of a purely permissive character and its provisions will apply to areas notified by municipalities or district boards which will have to bear such proportion of the increased expenditure which will be necessitated, as may be laid down by the Government of India, by rules. Moreover, no area can be notified without the previous sanction of the Provincial Government and further it must fulfil the test which the Government of India may, by rules, lay down as regards the percentage of children already at school within its limits. Finally the provisions are intended to apply in the first instance only to boys, though later on a local body may extend them to girls; and age limits proposed are only six and ten years. It is hoped that these are sufficient safeguards against any rash or injudicious action on the part of local bodies. This measure is essentially a cautious one, indeed to some it may appear to err too much on the side of caution."

The following points deserve special notice:—

(*i*) The bill merely *permits* the local bodies, on fulfilment of certain conditions, to introduce compulsion. It does not make the introduction of compulsion obligatory either on local bodies or on Government.

(*ii*) Secondly, the bill proposes that it should be local bodies, and not Government, who should take the initiative in the matter of introducing compulsion. The reasons for this proposal were thus explained by Mr. Gokhale:—

"My Lord, it is urged by those who are opposed to the introduction of compulsion in this country that though the Gaekwar, as an Indian Prince, could force compulsion on his subjects without serious opposition, the British Government as a foreign Government, cannot afford to risk the unpopularity which the measure will entail. Personally, I do not think that the fear which lies behind this view is justified because the Government in Ceylon is as much a foreign Government as that in India and in Ceylon the authorities have not shrunk from the introduction of compulsion. But to meet this objection, I am quite willing that the first steps in the direction of compulsion should be taken by our local bodies, which reproduce in British territory conditions similar to those which obtain

in Feudatory States..... when the public mind is familiarised with the idea of compulsion, the Government may take the succeeding steps without any hesitation or misgiving."[1]

(*iii*) Thirdly, the bill does not bind Government to pay any definite proportion of the additional cost of compulsion. It only says that Government may make rules regarding the appropriation of the cost of compulsion between Government and the local body concerned. In 1911-12, Government contributed Rs. 45,29 thousand to primary education while the local boards contributed Rs. 64,03 thousand and the municipalities contributed Rs. 16,94 thousand.[2] It was evident that under a system of compulsory education, the total cost of primary education would rise very considerably and that, the resources of the local bodies being inelastic and incapable of large expansion, most of the additional cost would have to be borne by Government. This financial aspect of compulsion was of fundamental importance and the success or failure of the scheme was dependent on the willingness and capacity of Government to bear the extra financial burden involved in the introduction of compulsion. Mr. Gokhale had realised this and he also had his own proposals on the subject; but electing, as he had done, to follow the line of least resistance, he left the point moot in the bill itself. In his introductory speech, however, he made the following observations:—

"It is obvious that the whole working of this bill must depend, in the first instance, upon the share, which the Government is prepared to bear, of the cost of compulsory education, wherever it is introduced. I find that in England, the Parliamentary grants cover about two-thirds of the total expenditure on elementary schools. In Scotland it amounts to more than that proportion, whereas in Ireland it meets

[1] *Speeches* (Edition 1930), pp. 615-6.
[2] Figures include those for Burma.

practically the whole cost. I think that we are entitled to ask that, in India, at least two-thirds of the new expenditure should be borne by the State."[1]

The Bill was circulated for opinion and came up for discussion again on the 17th of March 1912. The debate lasted for two days, and it became evident that Government was not then prepared to accept even a modest bill like this. As the official members were in a clear majority in the Central Legislature of that time, and as a number of non-official members also were opposed to it for some reason or the other, the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was defeated by 38 votes to 13. The following, amongst others, were the grounds on which the bill was opposed :—

(*i*) It is a sound maxim of educational policy that persuation should be exhausted before compulsion is resorted to. It was, therefore, argued that what the situation needed most was not a hasty enforcement of compulsion, but an expansion of education on a voluntary basis by the provision of additional funds, by opening more schools, by improving schools and teachers and so on.

(*ii*) No popular demand for compulsory education had been felt.

(*iii*) The Provincial Governments were not in favour of the Bill.

(*iv*) A section of educated Indians were opposed to it.

(*v*) The local authorities, it was stated, would be unwilling to increase existing taxes or to impose new ones in order to finance schemes of compulsion.

(*vi*) It was also argued that there would be numerous administrative difficulties in the practical enforcement of compulsion. For example, it was said that the attendance committees would not work satisfactorily, that the attendance officers might harass the people, and that the punitive measures would lead to great hardship to poor parents.

Thus closed the first chapter in the history of compulsory education in India, and for all the zeal and

[1] *Speeches* (Edition 1920), pp. 618-9.

ability with which Mr. Gokhale worked at the cause, his main object was not realised. The principles underlying the bill—modest as they appear today—were really far in advance of the times and the cautious and conservative officials of those days would not accept them as practical propositions. But Mr. Gokhale's efforts were not entirely in vain; they led, as we have seen, to the creation of a Department of Education under the Government of India; they considerably strengthened the movement in favour of mass education; they awakened Government to the duty regarding the education of the masses; and the great activity of Government in the field of primary education in the quinquennium 1912-17, was largely the indirect result of the efforts of Mr. Gokhale.

5. **Government Resolution of 1913.** Although Government had turned down Mr. Gokhale's bill, it could not entirely ignore the growing popular demand for the spread of mass education. It had, therefore, to take some steps in the matter and a great occasion for the same was given by the visit of His Majesty King George V to India in 1911-12. At the Coronation of His Majesty, a recurring grant of Rs. 50,00,000 was assigned to popular education. The general attitude of Government towards the education of the people was expressed in the following reply of His Majesty to the address presented by the Calcutta University on 6th January 1912:—

> "It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread

of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart."

This was followed by the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 21st February 1913, which laid down the following principles for the expansion and improvement of primary education:—

"The proposition that illiteracy must be broken down and that primary education has, in the present circumstances of India, a predominant claim upon the public funds, represent accepted policy no longer open to discussion. For financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight the Government of India have refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education; but they desire the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis. As regards free elementary education, the time has not yet arrived when it is practicable to dispense wholly with fees without injustice to the many villages which are waiting for the provision of schools. The fees derived from those pupils who can pay them are now devoted to the maintenance and expansion of primary education, and a total remission of fees would involve to a certain extent a more prolonged postponement of a provision of schools in villages without them. In some provinces elementary education is already free and in the majority of provinces liberal provision is already made for giving free elementary instruction to those boys whose parents cannot afford to pay fees. Local governments have been requested to extend the application of the principle of free elementary education amongst the poorer and more backward sections of the population. Further than this, it is not possible at present to go.

For guidance in the immediate future, with the necessary modifications due to local conditions, the Government of India desire to lay down the following principles in regard to primary education:—

(*i*) Subject to the principle stated in paragraph 8(1) supra, there should be large expansion of lower primary schools teaching the three R's with drawing, knowledge of the village map, nature study and physical exercise.

(*ii*) Simultaneously upper primary schools should be established at suitable centres and lower primary schools should, where necessary, be developed into upper primary schools.

(*iii*) Expansion should be secured by means of board schools, except where this is financially impossible, when aided schools under recognised management should be encouraged. In certain tracts liberal subsidies may advantageously be given to maktabs, pathshalas and the like which are ready to undertake simple vernacular teaching of general knowledge. Reliance should not be placed upon 'venture schools', unless by subjecting themselves to suitable management and to inspection they earn recognition.

(*iv*) It is not practicable at present in most parts of India to draw any great distinction between the curricula of rural and of urban primary schools. But in the latter class of schools there is special scope for practical teaching of geography, school excursions, etc. and the nature study should vary with the environment, and some other form of simple knowledge of the locality might advantageously be substituted for the study of the village map. As competent teachers become available a greater differentiation in the courses will be possible.

(*v*) Teachers should be drawn from the class of the boys whom they will teach; they should have passed the middle vernacular examination, or been through a corresponding course, and should have undergone a year's training. Where they have passed through only the upper primary course and have not already had sufficient experience in a school, a two years' course of training is generally desirable. This training may in the first instance be given in small local institutions, but preferably, as funds permit, in larger and more efficient central normal schools. In both kinds of institutions adequate practising schools are a necessary adjunct, and the size of the practising school will generally determine the size of the normal school. As teachers left to themselves in villages are liable to deteriorate, there are great advantages in periodical repetition and improvement courses for primary school teachers during the school vacations.

(*vi*) Trained teachers should receive not less than Rs. 12 per month (special rates being given in certain areas); they

should be placed in a graded service; and they should either be eligible for a pension or admitted to a provident fund.

(*vii*) No teachers should be called on to instruct more than 50 pupils; preferably the number should be 30 or 40; and it is desirable to have a separate teacher for each class or standard.

(*viii*) The continuation schools known as middle or secondary vernacular schools should be improved and multiplied.

(*ix*) Schools should be housed in sanitary and commodious but inexpensive buildings.

While laying down these general principles the Government of India recognise that in regard to primary education conditions vary greatly in different provinces. In the old Province of Bengal, for instance, where there is already some sort of primary school for a little over every three square miles of the total area of the province, the multiplication of schools may very well not be so urgent a problem as an increase in the attendance and an improvement in the qualifications of the teachers. In some parts of India at the present time no teacher in a primary school gets less than 12 rupees a month. In Burma all conditions are different and monastic schools are an important feature of the organization. Different problems, again, present themselves where board schools and aided schools respectively are the basis of the system of primary education. Nor must it be supposed that the policy laid down in these general terms for the immediate future limits the aspirations of the Government of India or the local governments. Indeed the Government of India hope that the day is not far distant when teachers in primary schools will receive considerably higher remuneration, when all teachers will be trained, and when it will be possible to introduce more modern and elastic methods in primary schools.

It is the desire and hope of the Government of India to see in the not distant future some 91,000 primary public schools added to the 100,000 which already exist for boys and to double the 4¼ millions of the pupils who now receive instruction in them."

This statement of policy hardly needs any comment. It is evident that the struggle between quality and quantity—which had hitherto been confined to collegiate

and secondary education—had now entered the field of primary education also. It is true that the Resolution expressed a hope that, although improvement would be the main aim of Government, it would not neglect expansion and that steps would be taken to double the number of schools and pupils. But as later events showed these hopes did not materialise.

6. **Progress of Primary Education, 1917-22.** The work of Mr. Gokhale was taken up by the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel. It was mainly due to his exertions that the Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act of 1918 was passed enabling the municipalities, under certain conditions, to introduce compulsory education within their areas. This Act aroused great interest and the next few years were ones of intense activity in favour of compulsory education. In 1919, four Acts for compulsory education were passed —the Punjab Primary Education Act, the United Provinces Primary Education Act, the Bengal Primary Education Act and the Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Act. In 1920, three more Acts, viz., the City of Bombay Primary Education Act, the Central Provinces Primary Education Act, and the Madras Elementary Education Act were passed. The working of these and the other Provincial Acts for compulsory education will be examined later in Chapter XXIII. Suffice it to say, that the ideas of Mr. Gokhale bore fruition at this time and that the quinquennium of 1917-22 was one of great activity for the spread of primary education.

Before closing this discussion, let us survey the position of primary education in India as it was in 1921-22. The following statistics tell their own tale:—

Province	Population (1921 Census)	No. of pupils in Primary Schools	Percentage of pupils to population (This ought to be about 15 p.c.)
	(in thousands)	(in thousands)	
Madras ...	4,23,19	15,47	3.6
Bombay ...	1,93,48	7,99	4.1
Bengal ...	4,66,96	14,36	3.1
United Provinces ...	4,53,76	8,33	1.8
Punjab ...	2,06,85	3,18	1.5
Bihar & Orissa ...	3,40,05	6,88	2.1
Central Provinces & Berar ...	1,39,13	2,60	1.8
Assam ...	76,06	1,69	2.2
N.W.F. Province ...	22,51	30	1.3
Minor Administrations ...	15,68	29	1.9
Total ...	23,37,67	61,09	2.6

The following statistics of literacy of the census of 1921 are equally disappointing:—

Province	*Percentage of Literacy*
Madras	.. 8.6
Bombay	.. 8.5
Bengal	.. 9.0
United Provinces	.. 3.7
Punjab	.. 4.3
Bihar and Orissa	.. 4.7
Central Provinces and Berar	.. 4.6
Assam	.. 6.3

Commenting on the above statistics of literacy, the Hartog Committee observes:—

"Between 1892 and 1922, the percentage of male literates of five years and over in British India increased by only 1.4 per cent (from 13.0 to 14.4) and that of female literates by 1.3 per cent (from 0.7 to 2.0). The percentage of literates of both sexes and all ages was only 7.2 in 1921. Progress has been extremely slow."[1]

[1] *Report*, p. 45.

In Chapter II, we pointed out that the 'literate adult population' as enumerated by Adam in 1835-38, in the six Thanas of Bengal and Bihar was 21,911 in a population of 4,96,964. This shows that the percentage of literates above the age of 14 to the total population was 4.4. If figures for adult literates above 15 years[1] of age are taken from the census reports of India (excluding Burma) and a similar percentage is worked out to the total population, it will be found to be 4.5 in 1911 and 5.3 in 1921. It is evident that despite all the good work done by the new system of primary schools the increase in the percentage of literacy was almost negligible. The reason is not far to seek. It is the fact that the good work was more or less counterbalanced by the disappearance of indigenous schools. The conclusion, therefore, becomes inevitable that the Indian Ministers of 1921 had to begin their task in primary education at a stage which, when looked at from the point of view of the work that had yet to be done, was not appreciably different from that which Adam found in 1835-38.

[1] This slight discrepancy between the two sets of figures cannot be helped. But we do not think that it is material enough to vitiate the conclusion.

Chapter XVIII

PRIMARY EDUCATION — (*Concluded*)

Training of Primary Teachers

(1854-1921)

In the preceding chapters, we have traced the history of primary education mainly from the point of view of the expansion achieved, other questions, such as those of finance and indigenous schools, being treated in so far as they bore directly upon the expansion of primary education and the spread of literacy. We have emphasized this aspect because we believe that the most fundamental problem of primary education in India is that of introducing compulsion and of liquidating mass illiteracy within a measurable time. In this concluding Chapter, we shall deal with another important aspect of the problem, viz., the training of primary teachers.

2. **Training of Primary Teachers before 1854.** Prior to 1854 it was only in Bombay and the North-Western Province that the system of primary education was developed to some extent. Consequently, the arrangements made in this period for training primary teachers in these provinces will be of some interest.

It may be pointed out that the Bombay Native Education Society had realised the importance of training primary teachers almost at the very beginning of its educational activities. In those days, primary education meant the spread of Western knowledge through the modern Indian languages. It was, therefore, obvious that the teachers themselves must first acquire Western

knowledge before they could impart it to others. One of the first acts of the Bombay Native Education Society, therefore, was to give a three years' training to 24 primary teachers. Similarly, training classes were again opened in the Elphinstone Institution as the primary schools expanded and the need for more trained teachers arose. It must be noted, however, that the expression 'training of teachers' had, at this time, an entirely different connotation from what it has today, and *meant general education in Western knowledge*, that is to say, in such subjects as algebra, geometry, astronomy and history of England rather than *instruction in the practical art of teaching.*[1]

The Bombay experiment was the attempt to train teachers employed or to be employed in departmental schools. An attempt to 'train' or improve the teachers in indigenous schools was also made in this period in the North-Western Province. This has already been described while discussing Adam's plan (*vide* Chapter V *supra*) and the educational developments in North-Western Province (*vide* Chapter VI *supra*).

3. **Events of the Period 1854 to 1859.** The Despatch of 1854, it will be recalled, placed great emphasis on the training of teachers, and the beginning of systematic teacher training in India may be said to date with it. The action taken on the recommendation of this Despatch is thus summarised by the *Despatch of* 1859 :—

> "The normal schools which have since been established have been confined almost exclusively to those for vernacular teachers. Of these four have been established in Bengal, attended, in all, by 258 pupils. In the North-Western Provinces a normal school has been in operation at Benares, at which the masters of vernacular schools in that division attended

[1] In this connection attention is invited to the syllabuses of these training classes: *Vide* Report of the B. N. E. Society for 1827, pp. 18-19, and Report of the Primary Teachers' Training Committee (i.e., the More Committee), Bombay, pp. 2-3.

for instruction and for practice; and sanction had been given, previously to the outbreak, to the establishment of training schools for vernacular masters at Agra, and at two other places within the provinces. The normal school at Madras has been constituted to furnish masters both for Anglo-vernacular and for vernacular schools. It has been placed on an efficient footing having a model school and a practising school attached to it, and there is every prospect that it will turn out teachers well qualified to give instruction to the several classes of schools which it is designed to supply. No separate training institution has yet been established at Bombay, but normal classes have been formed in connection with the colleges and principal English schools within the presidency, most of which are intended to supply teachers for Anglo-vernacular as well as for vernacular schools."

4. **Events of the Period 1859 to 1882.** The Despatch of 1859 observed that "the institution of training schools does not seem to have been carried out to the extent contemplated by the Court of Directors". This admonition from the Secretary of State naturally led to a quickening of effort in favour of the training of teachers and by 1882, each province had established several training institutions for primary teachers.

The events of the period can be studied under two heads: training of primary teachers in provinces where the majority of primary schools were conducted by the Department—such as Bombay or the Central Provinces—and that in provinces where the majority of schools were conducted by private agencies—such as Bengal and Madras. It is evident that the problem was essentially different in the two systems. In the case of departmental schools, the teachers were selected persons; they had a fair amount of general education; and they were willing to undergo training because better prospects were held out to trained teachers. On the other hand, the teachers of the aided indigenous schools were a

motley crowd over whose choice the Department had hardly any control; their general education was ordinarily poor; and they were mostly unwilling to undergo training—especially a long course of training—because it did not lead to improved conditions of service. The training problems of these two groups of teachers had, therefore, to be dealt with on different lines.

(a) *Bombay*: In 1881-82, there were seven training colleges for men teachers and two for women teachers (two of these colleges were in Indian States). The total number of teachers under training was 553 as against 9,314 in employment. The full training course was of three years. The percentage of trained headmasters was 46 and that of assistant masters was fourteen.

(*b*) *Central Provinces*: In 1881-82, there were four training institutions—three for men and one for women —with an enrolment of 188. The percentage of trained teachers was 87 in Government schools, and even in aided schools it was as high as in the Local Board schools in Bombay.

(*c*) In *Bengal*, most of the primary schools were aided indigenous schools and hence the problem of training primary teachers was essentially different from that in Bombay or the Central Provinces. Reference has already been made in Chapter XV to the 'circle system' and the 'Normal school system'. The latter system continued to expand steadily and in 1872-73, there were 26 normal schools in Bengal. In 1874, Sir George Campbell introduced a comprehensive scheme for training almost all indigenous school teachers in the normal schools established or proposed to be established at the district or sub-divisional headquarters. Accordingly, the opening of 46 additional normal schools at a cost of Rs. 1,64 thousand was sanctioned in the same year.

But very soon, the policy of Government was materially altered. As the Indian Education Commission points out:—

"After a year's trial of this scheme, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple, found reason for believing that it was unduly expensive. In fact the utility of normal schools, except as a means of providing trained teachers for the better section of the *pathsalas*, had already begun to be doubted. A phrase in common use about this time in the mouths of District Officers was that to raise the indigenous schools much above their traditional level would be 'to improve them off the face of the earth'. The complaint also began to be heard that the indigenous *gurus* were strongly averse to leaving their villages and coming in, if only for three or six months, to the Normal school. Thus the new Normal schools were declared to be both costly and ineffective. The best *gurus* were considered able to teach the simple standard required of them without going to a Normal school; the worst were regarded as incapable of improvement by any process. The gradual substitution of better educated, if untrained, men was urged on grounds alike of economy and efficiency, especially if accompanied by a system of payment by results. . . . The results of this new policy may be summarily shown. From 1874 to 1876, the number of Government Normal schools was 41. It fell to 31 in 1877, to 24 in 1878, and to 17 in 1879. In 1881-82 there were 8 Normal schools for training superior vernacular and 10 for training village teachers, including the *guru* departments of first grade schools. There is, therefore, no question that the new policy sanctioned by the Government of Bengal has been carried out in a deliberate manner. That policy proposed the gradual substitution of young men taught in middle and lower vernacular schools as teachers of primary schools, and consequently, in considering the effect which the system has had in improving the primary education of the country, the Bengal Department claims to take into account not only the teachers trained in Normal schools, but those taught in departmental schools of the classes named. Under this definition of trained teachers it appears that, besides 3,358 teachers trained in Normal schools, 4,118 have been taught in middle schools, and 1,601 in upper primary schools. There are, therefore, altogether 9,077

teachers in aided schools out of a total of 47,402, who are qualified according to the standard of qualification now accepted in Bengal, to teach the full primary course . . . the figures show how great is the task that still lies before the Department in Bengal in its endeavours to bring the general body of primary schools up to the standard even of the lower primary examination. It proposes to effect this, not by imposing teachers from without on the village schools, since the choice of the teacher must generally be left to the village, but by gradually infusing among the villagers a desire for the better standard and by so improving the position and prospects of the teacher that men with higher qualifications for the work may be gradually attracted to it."[1]

(*d*) In *Madras*, the primary schools were mostly aided indigenous schools as in Bengal; but it is remarkable that this province had 32 training schools with an enrolment of 927. The annual output of trained teachers was estimated at about 500 and about 25 per cent of the teachers held certificates of training. Despite this favourable position as compared to Bengal, the Madras Provincial Committee of the Indian Education Commission stressed the need of training more teachers and recommended an increase in expenditure and a multiplication of training institutions, while the Bengal Committee observed that " the training of teachers from outside must necessarily be out of place in a system of primary schools growing out of an old organization which is slowly changing under the new influences brought to bear on it."[2]

Taking India as a whole there were, in 1881-82, 106 Normal schools with an enrolment of 3,886 primary teachers, maintained at a total cost of about Rs. 4 lakhs. (For details, *vide* Report of the Indian Education Commission, p. 134).

[1] *Report,* pp. 130-1.
[2] *Report of the Indian Education Commission,* para 180.

5. **Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission.** At this juncture came the report of the Indian Education Commission. The Government Resolution appointing the Commission laid special emphasis on the training of primary teachers, and observed :—

"The arrangements existing in different parts of the country for training the teachers of primary schools should be brought under careful review, and suggestions for rendering that training more efficient and practical should, if possible, be submitted."

Accordingly, the Commission made the following recommendations :—

"We are unanimous in attaching the greatest importance to the continued and more systematic prosecution of the policy laid down in the Home Despatches, and until 1875 acted upon without question. It seems to us a matter of the greatest importance not merely that Normal schools should be established at a few centres, but that they should be widely distributed throughout the country. In considering indigenous education we laid stress on the necessity of affording special encouragement to indigenous schoolmasters to bring their relatives and successors under training. But if this policy is to be successful, special facilities must be created. Accordingly we recommend *that the supply of Normal schools, whether Government or aided, be so localised as to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools, whether Government or aided, within the division under each Inspector.* We attach considerable importance to the personal interest which each Inspector should take in the Normal school attached to his charge ; and in order that proper financial provision may be made for the extension of such institutions, we recommend *that the first charges on provincial funds assigned for primary education be the cost of its direction and inspection, and the provision of an adequate supply of Normal schools.* We have laid emphasis on the local requirements of schools, and on the policy of localising training schools. It is in our opinion very desirable that the village schoolmaster should be a local resident and not a foreigner. In the Hyderabad Assigned Districts the want of proper Normal schools compelled the Department for many

years to rely upon a supply of teachers drawn from Bombay. The disadvantages of such a plan are obvious. It is evident that by giving to the people of a district the prospect of employment, the popularity of the Department is in some measure secured. Again, it is desirable by every means to secure local interest and support in the village school, and the villagers may be expected to co-operate more readily with a member of their own community. The success of an indigenous school has often been mainly due to the fact that the master was a member of the village community. In this respect the Departmental schools may with advantage follow the example of indigenous institutions."[1]

These fundamental recommendations have held the field ever since and the history of the training of primary teachers in India during the period under review, may conveniently be traced against the background of these recommendations.

6. **Events of the Period 1882 to 1921.** During the forty years following the report of the Indian Education Commission, the problem of training primary teachers received considerable attention, especially in the period 1901 to 1921. Its main events may be summarised as under :—

(*i*) Government accepted the recommendation of the Commission that the training of primary teachers was a responsibility of the State. Consequently, a large number of training institutions came to be conducted directly by Government. Moreover, Government gave substantial financial assistance to training institutions conducted by local bodies or private agencies.

(*ii*) There was a steady expansion of training institutions during the period under review. In 1921-22, there were, in British India including Burma, 926 training institutions for men (with an enrolment of 22,774 students) and 146 training institutions for women (with

[1] *Report*, p. 132.

an enrolment of 4,157 students). Out of these, 433 were conducted by Government, 483 by Local Boards and Municipalities with the assistance of Government grants, and 156 were conducted by private bodies, out of which 151 were aided and 5 unaided. The training institutions conducted by Missions numbered 92.

(*iii*) The following statistics of trained and untrained teachers working in recognised primary schools in 1921-22 (excluding the teachers of English or classical languages) in British India including Burma are available : —

Primary Schools managed by	Trained teachers	Untrained teachers	Total
Government ...	1,155	888	2,043
Local Boards ...	38,757	31,002	69,759
Municipalities ...	5,898	5,767	11,665
Aided ...	20,689	65,229	85,918
Unaided ...	1,114	10,787	11,901
Total ...	67,613	1,13,673	1,81,286

The percentage of trained teachers works out to 38 of the whole. It was highest in schools conducted by Government—these were mostly practising schools attached to training institutions and were consequently conducted as model institutions—and lowest in unaided schools.

(*iv*) It has to be remembered, however, that the term 'trained teacher' did not have the same connotation in all the provinces. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1917-22, observes : —

"Any generalisations about the number of trained elementary teachers in India and the percentage which they bear to the total number of teachers are misleading. The different provinces vary widely in the qualifications required of the candi-

dates for training, the character of the institutions in which training is given and the length of the training courses. The term 'trained teacher' consequently has a very uncertain significance."[1]

7. **Training Systems in 1921.** The following analysis of the training systems of the several provinces of British India in 1921-22 will, therefore, be found interesting:—

(*i*) *Bengal*: Most of the primary schools were aided private schools and the general education of the teachers working in them was ordinarily poor. Hence, the 'training' of a teacher did not mean training him in the art of pedagogy; on the contrary, it meant an attempt to improve his general education 'with a top-dressing of the Art and Theory of Teaching superadded'. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1917-22, observes:—

"By holding out the bribe of a stipend, and perhaps by the use of some thinly-veiled compulsion, there are gathered into the *guru*-training schools a number of teachers whose knowledge of the subjects they teach is little above that of the unfortunate taught. Here they attempt, in one year or in two, to go through the whole upper primary or middle vernacular course with a top-dressing of the Art and Theory of Teaching superadded. There are no foundations on which to build, so that it is not surprising, to quote the Inspector, Dacca Division, that 'the actual work done by the trained teachers in primary schools is cruelly disappointing'. It is in fact a misnomer to class the ordinary product of the *guru*-training school under the head of 'trained'. To undergo training implies the acquisition of professional and technical skill. Training as interpreted in relation to primary education in Bengal is merely a despairing attempt to supply by special means some part of what is wanting in the teachers' general equipment."[2]

(*ii*) In *Bihar and Orissa,* the problem was similar to that of Bengal. Hence an attempt was being made to

[1] Vol. I, para 267.
[2] *Report,* para 269.

encourage students who had passed the middle-school examination (i.e., had seven years' general education) to undergo training. Two courses were drawn up, a course of one year for 'middle pass' candidates and another of two years for candidates with lower qualifications.

(*iii*) Although the primary schools in *Madras* were mostly aided private schools as in Bengal and Bihar, primary teachers with a better general education than in the other two provinces were ordinarily available. The Madras training institutions were of two types: higher elementary and lower elementary. The minimum qualification for admission to the former institution was a pass in the middle-school examination while the latter admitted students who had completed the upper primary course. The duration of the training course was two years in both cases.

(*iv*) In *Bombay*, the large majority of primary schools were conducted by local bodies and hence the problem in this province was essentially different from that in Bengal, Bihar, or Madras. The minimum qualification for admission to a training institution was a pass in the P.S.L.C. Examination which marked the completion of the primary course. The full training course was of three years—the training being generally intermittent.

(*v*) In the *United Provinces*, the primary teachers were generally trained in small classes of about eight students attached to selected middle-schools—each class being put in the charge of a special instructor appointed for the purpose. The system did not work satisfactorily.

(*vi*) In the *Punjab*, primary teachers were trained in a course of one year's duration after passing the middle-school examination.

(*vii*) It may be pointed out here that educationists were keenly divided at this time regarding the proper size of a training institution. In the United Provinces, it was the smallest. Next came Bihar where the size of a training school was generally fixed at about 20 students each. Then came Bengal with about 40 students per institution. The largest units were adopted in Bombay and the Central Provinces—as many as 150 students being trained in a single institution.

8. **Conclusion.** It will be seen that the position regarding the training of primary teachers was far from happy even in 1921-22. Amongst the various defects of the system, we may mention the following:—

(*i*) The general education of the average primary teacher was poor and hardly better than that of the pupils whom he was expected to teach. This was not a happy position. It was, therefore, being urged that the general education of primary teachers must be of not less than the Matriculation standard, and that the best way of securing such teachers would be to organise high schools teaching through the mother-tongue.

(*ii*) Short training courses of one year or intermittent training had generally failed to give good results.

(*iii*) Training institutions of a very small size as in the United Provinces had not given satisfactory results, because the whole work of training had to be left to a single instructor of ordinary capacity. On the other hand, big institutions as in the Central Provinces had also not proved successful. Their very size necessitated their location in towns or cities and hence the training of teachers was generally divorced from the rural conditions in which most of them had to work later on.

What the situation needed was a localised training institution of a moderate size in each district so that an effective attempt could be made to co-ordinate training with local environment.

(*iv*) It was, however, realised by this time that the fundamental problem was not so much the training of primary teachers as that of their pay and service conditions. It was the absence of a satisfactory remuneration that was mainly responsible for leaving the profession of primary teachers in the hands of poorly educated persons; and so long as this important problem remained unsolved, there was no great hope of attracting able persons to the profession and of placing the general education and training of primary teachers on an efficient footing.

CHAPTER XIX

THE END OF THE SECOND PERIOD

THE second period in the history of modern education in India, which began in the year 1854 with the receipt of Wood's Education Despatch, may be said to have come to an end in 1921 with the transfer of the subject of Education to the control of Indian Ministers responsible to a legislature with a large elected majority.

2. **Expansion—Its Extent and Limitations.** It will be recalled that efforts at the organization of a State system of education began by about 1822, that the first thirty years were an experimental period, and that the foundation of the modern system of education in India was really laid by the Despatch of 1854. It would, therefore, be interesting to compare the following statistics of education of 1855 and 1921-22:—

—	1855	1921-22
1. Universities	...	10
2. Arts Colleges	21	165
3. Professional Colleges (the figures of 1855 under this head include Professional Schools other than Normal Schools)	13	64
4. Secondary Schools	281	7,530
5. Primary Schools	2,810	1,55,017
6. Special Schools	7	3,344
7. Total number of recognised institutions	3,132	1,66,130
8. Total number of scholars in recognised institutions	1,35,079	73,96,560
	Rs.	Rs.
9. Total expenditure on Education ...	9,99,898	17,35,88,099
10. Govt. expenditure on Education ...	Not known; but most of the above amount was expended by Government.	8,56,01,366

N.B.—The figures for 1855 are taken from the *Report of the Indian Education Commission,* General Table No. 1a. Those for 1921-22 are for British India only, exclusive of Burma.

This expansion of the State system of education is certainly a creditable performance. But one has to remember that there was a considerable set-off to this achievement inasmuch as the indigenous system of education mostly disappeared during the period under review. We saw, in Chapter II, that there is good evidence to believe that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost every village had a school of some sort. This vast system of indigenous education had almost ceased to exist and by 1921-22, the "unrecognised institutions"—which term includes all the *known* educational institutions outside the State system—numbered only 16,322 with only 4,22,165 pupils. It was mainly because of this set-off that the percentages given by Adam do not differ materially from those of 1921-22. For instance, take the following statistics:—

—	*Adam's Figures.* (Taken from his intensive studies of six Thanas in the third report. *Vide* Chapter II, *supra*)	***Position of British India in 1921-22.*** **(Burma is excluded)**
(*a*) Centres of Instruction, i.e., Schools—public and domestic—as given by Adam and schools—recognised and unrecognised—as given in Departmental Reports	2,210 (1 for 225 persons)	1,82,752 (1 for 1,280 persons)
(*b*) Pupils under instruction	6,786	78,18,725
(*c*) Percentage of pupils under instruction to the total population (This ought to be about 15 per cent)	1.4	3.3
(*d*) Number of Adult literates,[1] above the age of 15. (Adam's figures are for literates above the age of 14) ...	21,911	1,24,60,170
(*e*) Percentage of adult literates to the total population	4.4	5.3

[1] Figures given here are for the whole of British India excluding Ajmere-Merwara, Andamans and Nicobars, British Baluchistan, Coorg and Delhi for which figures are not available.

If allowance is made for the imperfections in Adam's figures, for the fact that education was decaying in the days of Adam, and for the fact that the area surveyed by Adam (which had been under a long period of anarchy) was in all probability more backward in education than other parts of India which had been under a more or less settled government, it will be evident that the educational position of India in 1921-22 was not appreciably different from that in 1821-22, especially if we look at the problem from the point of view of the work that yet remained to be done.

The achievements of the modern system of education, therefore, were hardly of any importance from the *quantitative* point of view. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the State had not accepted any responsibility for the education of the people, the cultivation of letters was restricted to a *small minority* of the population, and the vast majority—which included almost all the females—were unable to read and write. Even in 1921-22, there was no material improvement in the situation. Education was still confined to a small minority. The percentage of literacy in India in 1921 was only 7.2, and the vast majority of the people still remained outside the educational system. It is, of course, true that there were a few important gains. For instance, there had been a gradual change in the public attitude to female education and women were now entering educational institutions in ever-increasing numbers. Similarly, there was also an awakening among the less advanced sections of society and pupils belonging to them were now enrolled in educational institutions in a much larger proportion than a hundred years previously. But without belittling the importance of these achievements, it may be stated that the *spread* of

education in 1921-22 was not materially wider than that in 1835-38 and many even considered it disappointing in view of the great expansion achieved by the State system of education during the period under review.

3. **Causes of Inadequate Quantitative Expansion.** The educational position in 1921-22, therefore, was, in a way, paradoxical. On the one hand, there had been a considerable expansion of the State system of education. The increase in expenditure from Government funds—from about Rs. 1 lakh in 1821 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1921—deserves particular notice. On the other hand, the rise in the percentage of population enrolled in schools was not proportionate to the increase in expenditure; nor was the rise in the percentage of literacy proportionate to the rise in the pupils under instruction. As may be easily anticipated, this was the paradox which educationists were called upon to explain.

One school of thinkers tried to explain the situation by pointing out the *intrinsic difficulties of the problem* and *the waste and ineffectiveness* involved in the educational system. According to this school, the slow advance of mass education was due to :—

(*i*) Large increase in population;

(*ii*) High birth-rate which added millions to the number of those to be educated;

(*iii*) High death-rate which created wide gaps in the ranks of literates turned out by the schools;

(*iv*) Wastage due to stagnation, deaths, premature withdrawals from schools, etc., so that only a very small minority of the children enrolled in schools *attained* literacy;

(*v*) Lapse into illiteracy on the part of those who had once been made literate, owing to lack of

suitable environment for the maintenance of literacy ;

(*vi*) Intrinsic difficulties of the problem such as scattered population centres, poverty, apathy of the people, multiplicity of castes, creeds, languages, etc.

The other school of thinkers did not minimise either the extent of the intrinsic difficulties or the value of the work already achieved ; but it was of opinion that the slow progress of mass education was due, not so much to the difficulties and defects enumerated above, as to the following causes : —

(*i*) Almost complete disappearance of indigenous systems of education ;

(*ii*) Lack of adequate funds ;

(*iii*) Emphasis on the development of collegiate and secondary education which necessarily involved, on financial grounds, a neglect of primary education ;

(*iv*) Emphasis on departmental institutions (which were necessarily costlier) rather than on private institutions which would have enabled Government to achieve expansion at a lesser cost ;

(*v*) Emphasis on quality rather than on quantity particularly in the sphere of primary education ;

(*vi*) Neglect of modern Indian languages ;

(*vii*) Adoption of English as the medium of instruction ;

(*viii*) Absence of compulsory primary education.

Obviously, the differences between these two schools of thought are of fundamental importance to the problem and hence it was quite natural that the suggestions for reform put forward by one school should be quite different from those of the other. As will be seen later in

Chapter XXIII, the history of primary education in the next period centred mainly round the conflict between these two points of view.

4. **Qualitative Achievements of the State System of Education.** The main achievements of the new system of education, therefore, were *qualitative* rather than quantitative. It substituted a newer and a comparatively more efficient system of education for the indigenous institutions, both elementary and higher. The difference is not marked at the elementary stage, even though in some respects the modern primary schools do show positive improvements. For instance, their curriculum is broader and more liberal; the methods of teaching are better and more modernised; the use of printed books is a definite asset; the teachers are, on the whole, abler than those of the indigenous schools. On the other hand, it is complained that the modern primary school has lost the elasticity of the indigenous system, and that it is not as finely adjusted to the needs and requirements of the rural population as the indigenous system was. There can be no doubt, however, that there is a world of difference between the modern secondary schools, colleges, and universities on the one hand and the *tols,* the *pathshalas,* and the *madressahs* on the other. The indigenous system of higher education was a relic of the middle ages. It was dominated by religion, confined to a small minority of the total population, and absolutely divorced from the modern developments in science. The rejection of this system followed by the establishment of another which aimed at a spread of Western knowledge and science was, therefore, a great achievement. It is true that in the early years of the new system, the pendulum was swung too far to the other side. There was a good

deal of undeserved contempt and condemnation heaped upon Oriental learning; there was also an equally undeserved glorification of western culture and civilization. But these excesses were soon corrected when the national sentiment began to develop and when Indian universities began to cultivate rational and scientific studies of the Oriental classical languages. On the whole, the new system of education gave a great stimulus to the national mind of India, cut loose several of the bonds which hampered the progress of society, and led to a great renaissance in all walks of national life.

It has to be remembered, however, that even these great qualitative achievements had their own limitations. For instance, the education given was too literary; it prepared the student for hardly anything beyond employment in clerical or teaching professions; vocational education was not developed; and the whole course was dominated by a rigid system of examinations and hampered by the use of English as a medium of instruction.

5. **Educational Position in 1921-22.** We have seen that in 1921-22, only one child out of every five had been enrolled in schools and that what education was given to this small minority of children was not free from defects. A very interesting analogue to the educational conditions in India at this time will be found in the following passage from the writings of Dr. Hengchih Tao, a Chinese educationist, who gives the following picturesque account of the educational conditions in China in the third decade of the present century:—

> *The Scholar Ghost.*—A wrong conception of education, with centuries' tradition behind it, is in our way. Education in the old sense has been identified with book-reading. A scholar is called a 'dushurhen' which means one who reads books. When you ask a professor what his profession is, in a very

usual manner he would answer, 'I am teaching books in Peking University'. In the same way a student would answer, 'Wo zai Beida dushu,' meaning that he is reading books in Peking University. While we value books as an important means of enlightening ourselves in past and contemporary civilization, we doubt whether reading books alone can lead us to freedom and doubt whether one has done justice to books by merely reading them. In more progressive circles such scholars are nicknamed as 'bookworms'. My friend, Dr. P. C. Chang, calls them 'scholar ghosts'. Here is a little poem of mine which gives a picture of such scholars:

> What is a scholar ghost?
> He lives along the Pacific Coast.
> He has bookish knowledge to boast.
> He has his eyes on the official post.
> He likes delicious food,
> And makes the half-starved farmers to be his hosts.
> When jobless, he teaches children,
> And makes all of them little scholar ghosts.

Hands and Brains Unite.—Traditional education in China seems to have created two types of strange human beings. In the schools the students are fed with knowledge to swell their heads and are provided with little opportunity for the use of their hands. Servants are doing many things for them that should be done by themselves. The making of a mud pie and the opening of a watch for examination are punished alike. From the development of the human race we know it was our hands that helped to make the brain. As our hands were set free by the erected position we began to work, and as we were working we made noises that were gradually selected to serve as our spoken languages. The written languages and tools are all the creation of our hands. The discouragement of the use of hands in the older schools has really defeated their own purposes of developing the brain. With this abnormal training the students have acquired a store of undigested and unrelated knowledge without being able to identify them with realities. They seem to have a big head which cannot think accurately in terms of the objective world. Therefore those who have had the opportunity of schooling come out with a big head and a pair of small hands, in figurative speech, look somewhat like a kangaroo, having only the strength to

pick up a pen and write a few lines. On the other hand the great masses of our people, doing the great bulk of work for the nation, are left without school education. While they are paying taxes for schools to run, they and their children have been deprived of every leisure for cultural growth. They have been forced to exist with the appearance of a small head and a pair of big hands. The Life Education Movement aims at the restoration of both of these strange human beings to normal life. We want to awaken the scholars to pull out their hands to work and awaken the great masses of people to blow something into their heads in order to think. The bringing into contact of the scholars with the peasants has achieved almost miracles. Both the scholars and the peasants have rediscovered something they had forgotten. The scholars, seeing the splendid productive work done by the peasants, cannot but cry out, 'Don't we have hands too? Why don't we work?' In a similar way the peasants have rediscovered their brain: 'We have head, sure, we have head, let us think!' Indeed real education must help to produce persons who can think and build. What we need is an education for brain-directed hands and hand-motorised brain. This new conception of education is pictured by a poem, entitled 'Brain and Hand Unite':

> Two treasures with us lifelong remain;
> A pair of free hands and a great brain.
> He who does not use his hand
> Belongs to the dethroned king's band.
> He who does not use his brain
> Has to endure hunger and pain.
> He who uses both his brain and hand
> Can create a new world on exploited land."[1]

The description of Chinese education given in this passage can be applied, *mutatis mutandis,* to the educational conditions in India. Dr. Tao points out that the People's Education Movement in China aimed at two objectives—the extension of liberal education among the working people and the development of practical

[1] "People's Education Movement" published in the *Harijan* of 29th October 1938.

training among the educated classes whose education, until recently, had been mostly literary. It may be pointed out here that it is on the same principles that the expansion and reconstruction of the educational system of India is being attempted.

6. **Transfer of Education to Indian Control**. It was at this juncture that the reforms outlined in the Government of India Act, 1919, were introduced and the Department of Education (subject to certain reservations) was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers.

The controversy that arose at this time over the transfer of the Education Department to Indians is of some interest. The joint report of Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General, formed the basis on which the reforms of 1919 were worked out. This report stated that the "guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur though serious would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development."[1] In pursuance of this principle, it was but natural to expect that education would be classed as a transferred subject. But it is interesting to note that there was considerable opposition to the transfer of the *entire* control of education to Indians and that several difficulties were put forward. The Anglo-Indians and Europeans feared unnecessarily that their interests would not be safe in the hands of Indian ministers and claimed that the subject of "Anglo-Indian and European Education" should be treated as *Central* or *reserved*. The opinions of the Provincial Govern-

[1] *Montagu-Chelmsford Report,* para 238.

ments were greatly divided. The Bengal Government desired to reserve collegiate and European education; the United Provinces Government recommended the transfer of the whole subject of education, even though the official committee which advised that Government were divided in their opinion; the Punjab Government reserved its opinion regarding the transfer of higher education; the Government of Bihar and Orissa strongly opposed the transfer of secondary, technical and collegiate education; the Chief Commissioner of Assam opposed the transfer of collegiate education; the Madras Government opposed the transfer of the education department as a whole, and the Government of India gave the following view:—

"We consider that there is a compelling case for the transfer of primary education. It is that part of the field which will give the fullest and freest play to responsibility at once; it will be most responsive to patriotic effort; and it will be the nursery for the broad and enlightened electorate on which the future depends. The labour of bringing primary education up to a reasonable standard, the need for almost unlimited development, the difficulties of gradually making it free and then compulsory—these and its many other problems constitute a task which will be enough, and more than enough, to occupy all the energy and ingenuity of ministers for years to come.... We may say at once that in our minds there is an equally compelling case for retaining secondary and university education in the hands of the official and more experienced half of the Provincial Governments. India stands today in a critical position; and her immediate future, apart from her slower political growth, depends upon the solution of social, economic and industrial problems to which a good system of secondary education is the chief key. If we handed it over at this juncture to untried hands we should be guilty of grave dereliction of duty."[1]

[1] *Despatch on the Functions Committee's Report,* paras 103-4.

Luckily for this country, however, better counsels prevailed, and the whole of the education department was transferred to Indian ministers subject to the following reservations:—

1. The Benares Hindu University and such other new universities as may be declared to be all-India by the Governor-General-in-Council were excluded on the ground that these institutions were of an all-India character and had better be dealt with by the Government of India itself;

2. Colleges for Indian chiefs and educational institutions maintained by the Governor-General-in-Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or other public servants, or their children were also excluded on the ground that these institutions ought to be under the direct control of the Government of India; and

3. The education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans was treated as a provincial but a *reserved* subject.

The authority to legislate on the following subjects was reserved for the central legislature, mainly with a view to enabling the Government of India to take suitable action on the report of the Calcutta University Commission:—

1. Questions regarding the establishment, constitution and functions of new universities;
2. Questions affecting the jurisdiction of any university outside its province; and
3. Questions regarding the Calcutta University and the reorganization of secondary education in Bengal (for a period of five years only after the introduction of the Reforms).

As will be easily seen, these orders created a queer position by treating education as "partly all-India,

partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations, and partly transferred without limitations."[1] They show clearly the difficulty with which a workable compromise was finally arrived at between the various conflicting opinions which have been mentioned above.

With this transfer of education to Indian control, the third period in the history of modern education in India begins and its main events will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

[1] *Despatch of the Government of India on the Functions Committee's Report*, para 93.

CHAPTER XX

EDUCATION UNDER DIARCHY

(1921-1937)

THE Constitution introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919, is known as "Dyarchy" or the rule of the two. Under this system, the sphere of the activities of a Provincial Government was divided into two parts —the *reserved* departments and the *transferred* departments. The Governor, who was the head of the Provincial Government was to administer the reserved departments with the help of some executive councillors and was to be responsible to the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs (through the Government of India) for the proper management of those Departments; on the other hand, he was expected to administer the transferred departments with the help of ministers who were responsible, not to the Secretary of State, but to a Provincial Legislature which consisted of a large elected majority. It was on account of this division of the provincial executive into two parts that the system got its name of Diarchy, and it was under this unusual form of a political constitution that Indians first obtained the control of the Education Department. It is beyond the scope of this book to enter into an examination of the merits and demerits of this constitutional machinery. But the following narrative of some of its features will throw light on the difficulties under which the Indian ministers had to work.

2. **Financial Arrangements.** The most important handicap of Indian ministers was financial and hence

the financial arrangements that were introduced by the Government of India Act of 1919 deserve a careful study. Prior to this date, all the revenues of India were divided into three parts—Central, Provincial and Divided. Certain sources of revenue such as Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, were regarded as Central, that is to say, belonging exclusively to the Government of India; certain other sources of revenue such as Forests were treated as exclusively Provincial; and some sources of revenue were treated as "divided", and their total yield was shared in a fixed ratio by the Government of India and the Provincial Government concerned. The Reforms of 1919 proposed to make a clear-cut division of revenues between the Central and Provincial Governments by the abolition of "divided sources"—the most important of which were Land Revenue, Income-tax, Excise, Stamps and Irrigation. For reasons which it is beyond the scope of this book to consider, it was decided to treat all these sources, except income-tax, as Provincial revenue. This led to a serious loss to the Central Government and hence it was proposed that the Provincial Governments should make some yearly contributions to the Central Government until the latter had time to adjust its own budget. The contributions to be thus paid by the Provincial Governments were made a first charge on their revenues and the balance was to be utilised for the Provincial departments—both reserved and transferred.

Keen controversies arose as to how this allocation within the Province was to be made. One view was that the Executive Councillors who were in charge of the reserved departments and the Ministers who were in charge of the transferred departments should sit together under the chairmanship of the Governor and decide upon

the allocation of revenues among all the departments of the Province according to the needs of each. This system came to be known as the "joint-purse" system. The opponents of this view advocated a different plan according to which a clear-cut division of the Provincial revenue was to be made between the two halves of Government and each half was to propose its own methods of additional taxation if the existing resources proved to be insufficient. This scheme came to be known as the "separate-purse" system. Ultimately, the former view prevailed and the system of joint-purse was adopted. In this respect the following quotation from the Report of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament will be found interesting:—

"They are confident that the problem can readily be solved by the simple process of common sense and reasonable give and take, but they are aware that this question might, in certain circumstances, become the cause of much friction in the provincial Government, and they are of opinion that the rules governing the allocation of these revenues and balances should be framed so as to make the existence of such friction impossible. They advise that, if the Governor, in the course of preparing either his first or any subsequent budget, finds that there is likely to be a serious or protracted difference of opinion between the executive council and his ministers on this subject, he should be empowered at once to make an allocation of revenue and balances between the reserved and transferred subjects, which should continue for at least the whole life of the existing legislative council. The Committee do not endorse the suggestion that certain sources of revenue should be allocated to reserved, and certain sources to transferred subjects, but they recommend that the Governor should allocate a definite proportion of the revenue, say, by way of illustration, two-thirds to reserved and one-third to transferred subjects and similarly a proportion, though not necessarily the same fraction, of the balances. If the Governor desires assistance in making the allocation, he should be allowed at his discretion to defer the question to be decided

to such authority as the Governor-General can appoint. Further, the Committee are of opinion that it should be laid down from the first that until an agreement which both sides of the Government will equally support has been reached, or until the allocation has been made by the Governor, the total provisions of the different expenditure heads in the budget of the province for the preceding financial year shall hold good.

The Committee desire that the relations of the two sides of the Government in this matter, as in all others, should be of such mutual sympathy that each will be able to assist and influence for the common good the work of the other, but not to exercise control over it. The budget should not be capable of being used as a means for enabling ministers or a majority of the legislative council to direct the policy of reserved subjects; but on the other hand the executive council should be helpful to ministers in their desire to develop the departments entrusted to their care. On the Governor personally will devolve the task of political balance between the legitimate needs of both sets of his advisers."[1]

As later events showed, this system of financial arrangements did not help the cause of the transferred departments in general and of education in particular. The finances of the Provincial Governments were largely crippled by the contributions payable to the Government of India; in industrial provinces like Bombay where the revenue from income-tax was a lucrative, elastic, and ever-improving source of income, the centralization of the income-tax hit the provincial finances very hard; the portfolio of finance was a reserved subject and was held by an executive councillor. For these and other reasons, the Indian ministers were not able to obtain the funds essential for a large-scale expansion and reorganization of education.

3. **Control over Services.** Another peculiar feature of the diarchical form of administration was the very

[1] *Indian Constitution*, by P. Mukerjee, pp. 206-7.

limited control which the Indian ministers could exercise over the educational services of the country. In 1921, most of the key posts in the Education Department were held by members of the Indian Educational Service and they continued to be so held for most of the period under review. The question of the future rights and privileges of the members of this service was one of the important issues raised at the time of the transfer of education to Indian control and formed the subject of a heated controversy.

For several decades in the past and particularly in the early decades of the twentieth century, public opinion in India was gradually becoming hostile to all the Indian Services such as the I.C.S., the I.M.S., the I.E.S., etc. The large salaries of the members of these services were often criticized and it was urged that a poor country like India could never afford such a pay-roll. Secondly, a feeling was gaining ground that these central services—the "bureaucratic steel-frame" as they were popularly called—were opposed to national aspirations. For instance, take the following passage from the pen of Sir C. Shankaran Nair, the then Member of the Government of India:—

"The result on the other hand was a stiffening of the Civil Service opposition to Indian progress mainly on the ground that English ideals are not suited to India. Gokhale said that unanimity in expressions of good-will, various proposals of reforms by individuals, general opposition to every particular proposal, indifference, if not refusal, to carry out the clear intentions and orders of the British nation have characterised the attitude of the Civil Service. The Indian politician who has taken any part in Indian public life or who has any experience of the real government of the country, came to the conclusion that under the Indian Civil Service who form and carry on the real government, no real progress

which in the present circumstances of the country is indispensable, can be expected."[1]

These words which refer mainly to the Indian Civil Service may well be taken to represent, *mutatis mutandis*, the extremist view about other all-India Services also. On the other side, the necessity and importance of a trained, well-qualified, and well-paid civil service were emphasized and it was urged that the rights and privileges of these services ought to be properly safeguarded under the Government of India Act. Ultimately, the rules that came to be framed on the subject guaranteed certain rights and privileges to the members of all-India Services in the transferred departments. The Ministers thus obtained only a *limited* control over the Indian Educational Service which, as has been pointed out, held all the key-posts in the department at this time.

This position was anomalous and led to a good deal of ill-feeling on both sides. On the one hand, it was alleged that the Indian Educational Service officers did not sympathise with the ideas of reconstruction that were being put forward by non-official Indian opinion; that it was difficult to carry out a policy with which the chief executive officers were not in sympathy; and that the privileges granted to the I.E.S. even amounted to a curtailment of the responsibility of the Indian ministers to their legislatures. On the other hand, the officials complained of frequent variations in policy and of interference with the day-to-day executive work of the administration. It is difficult to make any generalised statements on the subject, as the position must have largely varied from province to province and must have greatly

[1] Minute of Dissent to the *First Reforms Despatch of the Government of India*, 1919, para 9.

depended upon the "personal equation" between the parties concerned. But it may be definitely stated that the experiment did not succeed well and the necessity of harmony between the ministers and the executive came to be greatly felt.

The question was further considered by the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India which recommended that "for the purposes of local Governments, no further recruitment should be made to the All-India Services which operate in transferred fields. The personnel required for these branches of administration should in future be recruited by local Governments."[1] The Commission also considered the question of recruitment of Europeans and observed that "it will rest entirely with the local Governments to determine the number of Europeans who may in future be recruited. In this matter, the discretion of local Governments must be unfettered but we express the hope that Ministers on one hand will still seek to obtain the co-operation of Europeans in these technical departments and that qualified Europeans on the other hand may be no less willing to take services under local Governments than they were in the past to take services under the Secretary of State."[1] These recommendations were accepted by Government and the recruitment to the Indian Educational Service has been discontinued since 1924. This action was tantamount to the acceptance of the principle that the Ministers must have full control over the Services. The privileges granted to the existing members of the service were, however, continued on the ground that it would be unfair to them to place their services entirely under the control of the Ministers.

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1922-27, Vol. I, p. 39.

4. Other Difficulties. The above discussion will show the main difficulties that were inherent in the constitutional arrangements under which Indians first obtained the control of the education departments. To these must be added certain difficulties created by outside circumstances. For instance, the Indian National Congress which had then grown to be the largest political party in India considered the reforms of 1919 to be unsatisfactory, boycotted the Legislative Councils, and organized the Non-Co-operation Movement. Similarly, a Civil Disobedience Movement was organized in 1930-32. These two political movements dominated the national life of the country throughout the period under review; and the attention of the public was, therefore, concentrated more on political than on educational problems.

To these political difficulties must be added the financial difficulties created by the world economic depression that began about 1930. One would have thought that the financial difficulties created by a world economic depression should have had little or no effect on *education.* Its importance as a nation-building department and the fact that it had been starved of its due share of public revenues for a long time in the past ought to have shielded it from the axe of retrenchment. Unfortunately, the events showed that the axe fell heavily on nation-building departments and more particularly so on education. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education* for 1922-27 observes:—

> "Central and Provincial budgets had to be framed with a view to economy and not only were schemes involving new expenditure postponed but in many cases even the normal expenditure on education was considerably reduced. Retrenchment committees were set up by the Government of India as well as by several provincial Governments. Some of these committees suggested drastic reductions in educational

expenditure; some made startling recommendations regarding educational institutions and educational policy generally. But fortunately only a few of the most destructive suggestions were accepted or put into operation."[1]

The following statistics of the total educational expenditure incurred from Government funds in the several years of this period will show how the expenditure increased rapidly in the first few years, then declined owing to financial stringency, and again rose towards the end of the period under review:—

Year	*Expenditure from Govt. Funds (in lakhs of Rs.)*
1921-22	.. 9,02
1926-27	.. 11,93
1930-31	.. 13,61
1931-32	.. 12,46
1932-33	.. 11,35
1933-34	.. 11,47
1934-35	.. 11,59
1935-36	.. 11,84
1936-37	.. 12,36

(Figures include those of Burma)

It will, however, be seen that in spite of the steady increase that took place in Government expenditure on education in later years, the total amount spent in 1936-37 was still substantially below the expenditure incurred in 1930-31.

5. **Main Achievements of the Period.** With this background in view, let us now turn to the main achievements of this period.

The following statistics compare the educational results of 1936-37 with those of 1921-22:—

[1] Page 2.

Type of Institution	No. of Institutions		No. of Scholars	
	1921-22	1936-37	1921-22	1936-37
1. Universities ...	10	15	Figures not available	9,697
2. Arts Colleges ...	165	271	45,418	86,273
3. Professional Colleges	64	75	13,662	20,645
4. Secondary Schools ...	7,530	13,056	11,06,803	22,87,872
5. Primary Schools ...	1,55,017	1,92,244	61,09,752	1,02,24,288
6. Special Schools ...	3,344	5,647	1,20,925	2,59,269
Total for Recognised Institutions ...	1,66,130	2,11,308	73,96,560	1,28,88,044
7. Unrecognised Institutions ...	16,322	16,647	4,22,165	5,01,530
Grand Total ...	1,82,452	2,27,955	78,18,725	1,33,89,574

N.B.—The figures are for British India only, exclusive of Burma.

The results, it will be seen, are surprisingly good, and even a little unexpected in view of the several difficulties mentioned above. To what causes are these results to be ascribed ? How are we to explain the paradoxical phenomenon that there was an all-round and unprecedented increase in the number of schools and of scholars under instruction in spite of the fact that the expansion of Government efforts was substantially curtailed on account of financial stringency ?

6. **The Causes of Rapid Expansion.** The explanation of this paradox is to be found in the great political and social awakening that took place in India during this period. The following two quotations from two documents of this period will give an insight into the causes that led to this remarkable expansion of education :—

"A burst of enthusiasm swept children into school with unparalleled rapidity; an almost childlike faith in the value

of education was implanted in the minds of people; parents were prepared to make almost any sacrifice for the education of their children; the seed of tolerance towards the less fortunate in life was begotten; ambitious and comprehensive programmes of development were formulated, which were calculated to fulfil the dreams of a literate India; the Muslim community, long backward in education, pressed forward with eagerness to obliterate past deficiencies; enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old-time prejudice against the education of Indian girls; Government, with the full concurrence of Legislative Councils, poured out large sums of money on education, which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously."—*Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1927-32, Vol. I, p. 3.

"Education has come to be regarded generally as a matter of primary national importance, an indispensable agency in the difficult task of 'nation building'. The attention given to it by legislative councils is both a symptom and evidence of this recognition. The transfer of the Department of Education to popular control, as represented by a Minister, has both increased the public interest in it and made it more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion. Nor is it only the authorities and the well-to-do classes that have welcomed and encouraged the spread of education. Communities which had for long been educationally backward, like the Muhammadan community, have awakened to the need and possibilities of education for their children. The movement has spread to the depressed classes and even to the tribal aborigines, and has stirred a much larger proportion of the people than before to demand education as a right."—*Report of the Hartog Committee,* p. 31.

These passages, on the whole, show the causes that led to the remarkable expansion during the period under review. One cannot, however, agree with the author of the quinquennial review in his observation that "Government poured out large sums of money on education which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously". A study of

the relevant statistics of expenditure will show that in actual fact, Government *had* poured out much more money in the earlier period:—

Source	1901-02	1916-17	1921-22	1931-32	1936-37
		(*In*	*lakhs of*	*Rupees*)	
Government ..	103	392	902	1,246	1,236
Non-Government:					
(*a*) District Boards ...	59	174	168	280	257
(*b*) Municipalities ...	15	49	79	158	178
(*c*) Fees ...	127	319	380	623	711
(*d*) Other Sources ..	97	195	308	412	424
Total ...	401	1,129	1,837	2,719	2,806

(The figures are for British India only, inclusive of Burma.)

It will be seen that the increase in Government expenditure was 510 lakhs in the quinquennium 1916-17 to 1921-22—much more than that in the decade 1921-22 to 1931-32 to which the review refers. It will also be seen that Government expenditure increased from Rs. 103 lakhs in 1901-02 to Rs. 902 lakhs in 1921-22, i.e., an increase of nearly Rs. 800 lakhs; while it increased by Rs. 334 lakhs only during the quinquennium 1926-7 to 1931-2. On the other hand, the figures for non-Government sources show that during the period 1901-02 to 1921-22, the expenditure rose by 637 lakhs, while the increase in the period 1921-22 to 1936-37 was equally good—viz., Rs. 635 lakhs. In other words, the increase in the expenditure from non-Government sources continued almost unchanged while there was a fall from Rs. 799 lakhs to Rs. 334 lakhs in the increase of expenditure from Government funds. It is obvious from the above that during the period 1921-22 to 1936-37, the Local Boards and the

people—who formed the bulk of the non-Government sources—contributed more than 60 per cent of the increase in total expenditure that took place.

In comparing the figures of expenditure for the two periods, one has to remember that the earlier period of 1901-02 to 1921-22 was a boom period in world economics, while the latter period was one of universal economic depression. It is not, therefore, surprising that the earlier period saw Government making substantial contribution to expenditure on education and that during the latter, that contribution dropped materially. What *is* surprising and remarkable is the fact that the *people* were willing to make great sacrifices in the cause of education even during these lean years. These sacrifices of the people were really laudable ; they showed that the public enthusiasm for education was genuine and earnest ; they also made up, to a certain extent, the deficiencies of Government contributions ; and it is to them that we must ascribe the great all-round expansion of education that we find in these years.

7. **The Hartog Committee.** The rapid expansion of education that took place during this period of fifteen years threw into sharp relief some of its existing defects and also created new problems of its own. Consequently the dissatisfaction against the educational system, to which we have referred while dealing with the early decades of this century, increased considerably both in official and non-official circles. For instance, official opinion held that the sudden rise in quantity had led to a great dilution of quality and that the educational system of India was largely ineffective and wasteful. This view was pointedly expressed in the report of the " Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commis-

sion" (popularly known as the Hartog Committee,[1] after its Chairman, Sir Philip Hartog). This report is one of the most important documents of this period and deserves a careful perusal. The main findings and recommendations of the Committee will be discussed in the next three chapters in the appropriate context. For the present, we quote below the following summary of its report :—

> "Our Review of the growth of education reveals many points of fundamental interest for the political future of India. The largely increased enrolment in primary schools indicates that the old time apathy of the masses is breaking down. There has been a social and political awakening of the women of India and an expressed demand on their behalf for education and social reform. There has been rapid progress in the numbers of Muhammadans receiving instruction. Efforts have been made to improve the condition of the depressed classes and those classes are beginning to respond to that effort and to assert their right to education. On all sides there has been a desire on the part of leaders of public opinion to understand and to grapple with the complex and difficult problems of education; and large additional expenditure has been proposed by Education Ministers, and willingly voted by the legislative councils. That is one side of the picture, but there is another.
>
> Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness. In the primary system, which from our

[1] According to the Government of India Act of 1919, a Royal Commission on constitutional reforms was to be appointed in 1929. But owing to the continued agitation in India that the Reforms of 1919 were unsatisfactory, a Royal Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon, was appointed a little earlier in 1927. Under Section 84-A(3) of the Government of India Act of 1919, this Commission was asked to report on the growth of education in British India and was also authorised to appoint, if necessary, an auxiliary committee for the purpose. Accordingly, the Commission appointed this Committee presided over by Sir Philip Hartog, who had served for several years in India as a member of the Calcutta University Commission, and as the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University.

point of view should be designed to produce literacy and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote, the waste is appalling. So far as we can judge, the vast increase in numbers in primary schools produces no commensurate increase in literacy, for only a small proportion of those who are at the primary stage reach Class IV, in which the attainment of literacy may be expected. In one province, despite a very large increase in the number of primary schools and pupils and in the expenditure, the number of pupils who reached Class IV was actually less by nearly 30,000 in 1927 than it was ten years previously. It is to be remembered that under present conditions of rural life, and with the lack of suitable vernacular literature, a child has very little chance of attaining literacy after leaving school; and, indeed, even for the literate, there are many chances of relapse into illiteracy.

The wastage in the case of girls is even more serious than in the case of boys. The disparity in education and literacy between women and men so far from decreasing by the effort made is actually increasing. The disparity between the wealthier parts of the country and the poorer parts also tends to increase.

In the sphere of secondary education there has been an advance in some respects, notably the average capacity of the body of teachers, in their improved conditions of service and training, and in the attempt to widen the general activities of school life. But here again there are grave defects of organization. The whole system of secondary education is still dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters a secondary school should prepare himself for the university; and the immense numbers of failures at the Matriculation and in the university examinations indicate a great waste of effort. Such attempts as have been made to provide vocational and industrial training have little contact with the educational system and are, therefore, largely infructuous. Many of the universities and colleges show marked improvement in their methods of teaching and in the amount of original work which they have produced; and in some of them there is undoubtedly a better training for corporate life than formerly. But the theory that a university exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India; and we wish that there were more signs that the

universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions. They have been hampered in their work by being over-crowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers.

We have no doubt that more and more money will be gladly voted for education by the legislatures of India but, as we have shown, the improvement and expansion of education do not depend merely on money. Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds. We were asked to report on the organization of education. At almost every point that organization needs reconsideration and strengthening; and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organization of education need readjustment.

We are of opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate; and, holding as we do, that education is essentially a national service, we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of the Central Government with this subject. We have suggested that the Government of India should serve as a centre of educational information for the whole of India and as a means of co-ordinating the educational experience of the different provinces. But we regard the duties of the Central Government as going beyond that. We cannot accept the view that it should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. It may be that some of the provinces, in spite of all efforts, will be unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose, and the Government of India should, therefore, be constitutionally enabled to make good such financial deficiencies, in the interests of India as a whole.

We have not suggested, nor do we suggest, that the responsibility of Ministers in the provinces should be reduced. On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out of their hands, with unfortunate results. The relations between provincial governments and local bodies demand further

consideration and adjustment. The formation of an educated electorate is a matter for the nation. Under recent legislation, powers have been devolved on local bodies in such a way that the Ministers responsible to the legislatures have no effective control of the expenditure of money voted for mass education; and in some cases, owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure. It is clear that the new factor of ministerial responsibility has not been taken sufficiently into account.

The Directors of Public Instruction have been loyal and enthusiastic, but they are grappling with immense responsibilities without sufficient support. The headquarters staffs of provinces should be largely increased, so that important schemes of development may be considered with greater care and the ordinary work of education supervised more effectively. An increase in the inspecting staffs should lead to economy and not to extravagance. The reconstitution of the provincial educational services can suffer no further delay.

Despite the growing increase in the girls' education the measures taken to promote it have been inadequate. The education of the girl is the education of the mother. The school education of each additional girl counts more towards the future than the school education of an additional boy. We are definitely of opinion that, in the interests of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion."[1]

8. **Non-official Opinion.** Just as official opinion was generally dissatisfied with the system, non-official opinion was also dissatisfied although the grounds of its dissatisfaction as well as its proposals of reform were quite different from those of the officials. For instance, while the official view was that primary education had expanded too rapidly at the cost of quality, the non-officials criticized the *slow rate* of its advance and demanded a definite time-table of expansion with a view to liquidating early the appalling illiteracy of the masses; the official view complained that the average student was

[1] *Report*, pp. 345-7.

weak in English and that the standard of proficiency in that language was being lowered, while the non-official view complained against the domination of English throughout the school and college course, proposed that English should be taught as an optional subject, and even suggested the study of an Indian language, e.g., Hindustani, as a national language in place of English; and so on. We need not enter at this stage into the details either of the criticism of the system or of the proposals for reform. It will suffice our immediate purpose to state the main tendencies which it displayed, viz., the protest against the intellectual domination of the West; the desire to create a new educational system suited to national aspirations rather than to imitate Western models; the attempt to prove that good education is not necessarily costly; and the struggle to show how a good system of education could be developed within the resources of a poor country like India.

It will be seen that the cleavage between the official and non-official opinions was very wide. Had it been possible for the two sides to work together, the gulf might have been bridged. Unfortunately, the political situation in the country at the time was not favourable for such an experiment with the result that the breach between the two sides widened still further during the period under review.

The non-official efforts of this period may be grouped under four categories: in the first category may be included the efforts at expansion. The following statistics will show how non-Government effort was responsible for most of the expansion that took place in this period:—

Management	1921-22		1936-37	
	Institutions	Scholars	Institutions	Scholars
Government ...	2,946	2,56,998	4,057	3,83,365
Non-Government: ...				
(a) Boards ...	53,188	30,72,412	78,719	58,81,094
(b) Aided ...	93,629	35,01,766	1,13,517	58,85,842
(c) Unaided ...	16,357	5,65,384	15,015	7,37,743
Total ...	1,66,120	73,96,560	2,11,308	1,28,88,044

(Figures for British India only, exclusive of Burma.)

In the second category fall the efforts at reform made within the four corners of the official system of education. Among these may be mentioned the almost successful struggle to adopt the modern Indian languages as the media of instruction at the secondary stage, the efforts to establish universities on a linguistic basis, the creation of such fine institutions as the Benares and Aligarh Universities. In the third category fall such efforts as the Visva-Bharati and the S. N. D. T. Women's University, which may be regarded as independent experiments undertaken by enthusiastic Indian educationists. In the last category come the efforts of those who felt that no reform of education was possible within the official system and, therefore, chose to work outside it, without even caring to seek recognition at the hands of Government. These efforts were exemplified in the several national universities that came to be established during this period, such as the Kashi Vidyapith, the Jamia Millia, the Gujarat Vidyapith, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, etc.

These, in brief, were the main features of this important period in the history of Indian education to a detailed examination of which we shall now turn.

CHAPTER XXI

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

(1921-1937)

THE period of sixteen years between 1921 and 1937 is one of great advance in University education. Its main events were the following:—

(*i*) Constitution of the Inter-University Board;

(*ii*) The incorporation of five new universities, viz., Delhi, Nagpur, Andhra, Agra and Annamalai;

(*iii*) Changes in the constitution of the older affiliating universities, especially in that of Madras, Bombay, Patna, Allahabad, and the Punjab;

(*iv*) Expansion of university education as shown by the opening of new faculties, provision of new courses of studies, increase in the number of collegiate institutions and of the students reading in the universities, etc.;

(*v*) Greater provision for Research;

(*vi*) Development of inter-collegiate and inter-university activities;

(*vii*) Provision for military training; and

(*viii*) Better provision for physical education and residences for students.

2. **The Inter-University Board.** The need for the co-ordination of the work of Indian universities was greatly emphasized by the Calcutta University Commission. A similar recommendation was made by the Indian delegates to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire held in 1921. The Lytton Committee on Indian students in England also hoped that the Indian

universities would constitute, at an early date, an Inter-University Board for the purpose of co-ordinating the courses of study in India and in securing uniformity in their recognition abroad. As a result of all these recommendations, the first All-India Conference of Indian Universities was held at Simla in 1924 and an Inter-University Board was established. The Board consists of representatives of all the Indian universities, and has been holding annual meetings at different university centres since 1925. The functions of the Board are the following :—

(1) To act as an inter-university organization and bureau of information;

(2) To facilitate the exchange of professors;

(3) To serve as an authorized channel of communication and facilitate the co-ordination of university work;

(4) To assist Indian universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, diplomas, and examinations in other countries;

(5) To appoint or recommend where necessary a common representative or representatives of India at Imperial or International conferences on higher education;

(6) To act as an appointment bureau for Indian universities; and

(7) To fulfil such other duties as may be assigned to it from time to time by the Indian universities.

The Board has done useful work in several directions and its utility has been increasing year after year. It has now become an integral part of the organization of Indian universities.

3. **Incorporation of new Universities.** It will be recalled that the Government Resolution on Educational Policy dated 21st February, 1913, laid down the principle that every province should have a university of its own and that teaching universities should be established in as many centres as possible. Expansion on these lines was carried on during the period under review and five new

universities came to be incorporated. The Delhi University was established for the centrally administered province of Delhi, and the Nagpur University for the Central Provinces and Berar. The Andhra University was established for the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency. The Agra University was incorporated as an affiliating university for the United Provinces, Central India, and Gwalior. And finally, a unitary, teaching and mostly residential university was established at Chidambaram in the Madras Presidency and named after its munificent donor, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar.) The following brief notes on these universities will be found interesting :—

Delhi.—The Delhi University was incorporated by an Act of 1922. The original object of this Act was to create a unitary, teaching and residential university at Delhi. But owing to certain difficulties created by local conditions and lack of funds, it was not possible to realise this ideal. The Hartog Committee examined the problem and felt that the unitary type was not suited to the local conditions at Delhi. "It would be a loss to India", wrote the Committee, "if the healthy traditions of the three colleges[1] were sacrificed by a too rigid adherence to the formula of a unitary university."[2] The question was further considered by a specially appointed committee in 1927 and the Government of India passed orders in 1934 directing that a university of the federal type should be ultimately developed at Delhi. The essential requirements of a university of this type may be briefly summarized as under :—

(1) The University and its constituent colleges should be situated in close proximity with each other ;

(2) Each constituent college should be actively engaged in the work of a university standard ;

(3) Each constituent college should be prepared to forego some measure of its autonomy in order to share in and

[1] St. Stephen's College, the Hindu College and the Ramjas College.

[2] *Report,* page 125.

contribute to the type and government of the University as a whole; and

(4) The actual teaching should, as far as possible, be provided by the constituent colleges under the guidance of the University.

But this ideal also was not realised and even in 1937, the University remained essentially an affiliating and examining body.

Nagpur.—As early as 1914, the Government of the Central Provinces appointed a Committee to consider the establishment of a Provincial University at Nagpur. The Committee reported in 1915, but action on its proposals was reserved until after the report of the Calcutta University Commission became available. The problem was taken up again in 1919 and the Act of Incorporation of the University was passed in 1923. This Act created a university of the affiliating type to begin with, but it was so framed that the University could subsequently, and without amending legislation, develop its teaching side also. Soon after its establishment the University opened a Law College under its direct management, and it was hoped to convert the University into a teaching body at an early date. But owing to financial and other difficulties, this hope receded further and further into the background and even in 1937 the Nagpur University remained mostly an affiliating university.

Andhra.—The establishment and growth of the Andhra University are of special interest, because this is an instance where the establishment of a new university on a linguistic basis has *preceded* the creation of a new province on the same principle. The University arose out of a demand made by the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency for the creation of a new university for them. After a good deal of controversy, the Andhra University was incorporated by an Act of 1926 and was given jurisdiction over those districts of the Madras Presidency where most of the population spoke Telugu. The University is both teaching and affiliating and its most prominent feature is the provision in the Act of Incorporation for the ultimate use of the Indian languages as media of instruction and examination. In 1937, the University conducted an Arts College (opened in 1931) and a College of Science and Technology (opened in 1933) besides affiliating a number of other colleges within its area.

Agra.—The Agra University was incorporated in 1927 as an affiliating university with a view to taking over the control of affiliated colleges which were then under the external side of the Allahabad University. Its jurisdiction extends over the whole of the United Provinces (excluding the territorial limits of the four teaching universities in the Provinces, viz., Benares, Aligarh, Allahabad and Lucknow), Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior. The only teaching work which it undertakes is that of arranging extension lectures at each of the affiliated colleges. With the incorporation of the Agra University, the United Provinces have shown the way to the other provinces as to the best mode of organizing university education in India, viz., to develop as many teaching universities as possible and to maintain one affiliating university in the Province to meet the requirements of those centres of collegiate instruction which are not yet ripe to grow into a teaching university.

The Annamalai University.—This was established in 1929 and owes its existence to the generosity of Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar who handed over to the Government of Madras an endowment fund of Rs. 20 lakhs together with the three collegiate institutions in English, Tamil and Sanskrit which he had founded and maintained at Chidambaram. The Government added Rs. 27 lakhs to the endowment fund, gave a non-recurring grant of Rs. 7½ lakhs and a recurring annual grant of Rs. 1½ lakhs and incorporated the Annamalai University in 1929. There are two distinctive features of this University: Firstly, it has adopted the tutorial system according to which students are divided into small batches of not more than three or four and entrusted to the care of members of the staff; and secondly, the University conducts a Research Department in Tamil in order to prepare suitable text-books with a view to the ultimate adoption of Tamil as a medium of instruction for the different subjects of study in the University.

The foregoing account will show that in 1937 the only provinces that had no universities of their own were the newly created Provinces of Sind and Orissa and the smaller provinces of Assam, North-West Frontier, British Baluchistan, Coorg and Ajmere-Merwara. The needs of Sind are met by the Bombay University, and those of

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Assam by Calcutta ; the requirements of the N.-W. Frontier Province and British Baluchistan are served by the Punjab University; Coorg depends upon Madras and Ajmere-Merwara is under Agra. The schools and colleges of South Orissa are affiliated to the Andhra University and those of North Orissa to Patna. Provincial Autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, has been introduced in Sind, Orissa, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province, and one of the important problems which the autonomous ministries in these provinces have to tackle is the incorporation of new and independent universities for their areas.

4. **Changes in the Older Affiliating Universities.** Many of the older universities in India also underwent important changes during the period under review. The following summary of the main changes will show the general direction in which University reform was attempted during this period :—

The constitution of the *Madras University* was largely amended by Acts of 1923 and 1929. The preamble of the Madras University Act of 1923 states its objects in the following words :—

(*i*) To establish a teaching and residential university at Madras while enabling the university to continue to exercise due control over the quality of teaching given by constituent or affiliated colleges ;

(*ii*) To foster the development of academic life and corporate unity in colleges as well as the university with a view to utilizing fully the available teaching resources ; and

(*iii*) To prepare for the incorporation of new universities by co-ordination and concentration of the resources for higher teaching and research at suitable centres.

The Acts vest the governance of the university in a Chancellor (which post is always held by the Governor of Madras), a Pro-Chancellor (which post is always held by the Minister of Education), a Vice-Chancellor who is a full-time officer, and a Senate which is a large body with an elected majority.

The Acts also constitute an Academic Council for the regulation of all academic matters of the University.

During the period under review, the Madras University undertook considerable teaching work by organizing research departments in various subjects such as Botany, Zoology, Biochemistry, Mathematics, Indian Philosophy, etc., and by opening an Oriental Research Institute which has departments for research in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Urdu. But the University has not done anything to develop mofussil centres of higher learning into new universities as expected by the Act of 1923. On the other hand it has expressed the view that the establishment of additional universities in the Province is neither practical nor desirable.

The Government of Bombay appointed a Committee in 1924 to report upon the reform of the *Bombay University.* On receipt of the Committee's report, Government passed the Bombay University Act in 1928, whose main object was "to reconstitute the University so as to enable it to provide greater facilities for higher education and research while continuing to exercise control over the teaching given by affiliated colleges." The Act has enlarged the Senate and provided for a large elective element in its constitution; it has also constituted an Academic Council. A Board of Post-graduate Studies was also established with the object of providing greater facilities for higher education and conducting post-graduate teaching in all branches of learning including technology.

But in spite of the new legislation, the University still continues to be mostly an affiliating and an examining body. The direct teaching work done by the University is not so extensive as that in Calcutta or Madras, the main difficulty in the way of expansion being financial. The University conducts only two institutions for higher learning, viz., the School of Economics and Sociology which was founded in 1919-20 and the School of Chemical Technology which was founded in 1934-35. But it has organized post-graduate teaching and research through recognized university teachers who are mostly from the ranks of teachers in affiliated colleges. The system has worked with a fair amount of success and has the advantage of being very economical.

The constitution of the *Patna University* was amended in 1932 after a prolonged discussion. The intention of the Act of Incorporation of the University was to create, ultimately, a teaching university at Patna; but the idea has not been realised on account of financial and other difficulties and the University still continues to be primarily an examining body.

At the beginning of the period under review, *Allahabad* was a teaching University with an external side which gave affiliation to colleges in the United Provinces, Central India, and Gwalior. With the creation of the Agra University, all work regarding affiliation was transferred to it and the Allahabad University became a purely teaching, unitary, and residential university.

The *Punjab University* did not undergo any great changes during the period under review. An Academic Council has been established within the four corners of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. A Committee to enquire into and report on the reform of the University was appointed in the quinquennium 1932-37, but no action has yet been taken on its recommendations. The main achievements of the University during the period under review, therefore, were (1) the extension and improvement of Honours Schools, especially on the Science side, and (2) the establishment of the Hailey College of Commerce which is directly conducted by the University.

It is an irony of the situation that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission have had less effect on the *Calcutta University* itself than on any other university in India, and the constitution of the Calcutta University is still governed by the Indian Universities Act of 1904. At the beginning of the period under review, Calcutta was the biggest affiliating university in India and even in 1937, it still held that position. The Bengal report for 1931-32 observed that its "bulk has become so unwieldy that no ordinary force can shake its pyramidical immobility."[1] A distinctive feature of the University, however, is its post-graduate teaching work which, though undertaken before the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission, was put on a permanent basis only during the period under review. For this purpose the University has constituted two Councils—one for post-graduate teaching in Arts and another for that in Science. These

[1] Page 45.

two Councils control all the post-graduate teaching work in the University and maintain permanent post-graduate teaching staff. Experience has shown that this type of teaching work has the following defects or difficulties:—

(*i*) Complete severance from under-graduate teaching work;

(*ii*) Sudden and large fluctuations in the number of students due mainly to economic conditions and to the fact that many students take up post-graduate studies because they have 'nothing else to do'; and

(*iii*) Large financial deficits due to the fact that the maintenance of a competent staff for post-graduate work is very costly while the income from fees is low and precarious.

The last of the above difficulties has been partially removed by the Government guarantee to pay an annual recurring grant of Rs. 3,60,000 to the University. Although this grant has enabled the University to balance its budget, financial limitations have prevented the University from undertaking any large scheme of expansion or reconstruction.

5. **Expansion of University Education.** The statistics for 1936-37 given on the next page give details regarding the expansion of University Education in India during the period under review and may be advantageously compared with those for 1921-22 given in Chapter XII.

A careful scrutiny of these statistics[1] and their comparison with those of 1921-22 will show that there was a phenomenal increase in the enrolment of students in Indian universities during the period under review. The statistics at the top of page 487 will bear out this statement.

While this increase must be regarded as an indication of the educational advance of the country, it is necessary to remember that it was not an unmixed blessing. Its weaker side, or the difficulties which it created, may be summarized as under:—

[1] All the statistics given in this section are taken from the University figures. Hence they refer to the whole of India excluding Burma.

University	Faculties in which degrees are awarded	Number of Institutions			Number of students in		
		University Departments	Constituent Colleges	Affiliated Colleges	University Departments	Constituent Colleges	Affiliated Colleges
1. Calcutta ...	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., M., L., O., Com.	25	...	62	2,362	...	32,995
2. Bombay ...	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., M., L., Com., O., Tech., Ag.	3	...	36	191	...	17,575
3. Madras ...	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., M., L., Ag., O., F.A., Com.	16	14	61	150	5,371	12,076
4. Punjab ...	A., Sc., Ed., Eng., M., L., Com., O., Ag.	15	3	51	786	881	18,174
5. Allahabad ...	A., Sc., L., Com.	17	...	...	2,056	...	...
6. Benares Hindu ...	A., Sc., Ed., L., O., M., Th., Tech.	...	8	...	...	3,385	...
7. Mysore ...	A., Sc., Eng., M., Tech.	...	9	...	...	2,725	...
8. Patna ...	A., Sc, Ed., Eng., L., M.	...	...	17	...	...	5,898
9. Osmania ...	A., Sc., Ed., Eng, L, M., Th.	...	9	...	...	1,723	...
10. Aligarh Muslim	A., Sc., L., Th., Ed.	17	...	...	1,822	...	...
11. Lucknow ...	A., Sc., Ed., M., L., Com., O.	...	3	...	...	2,340	...
12. Dacca ...	A., Sc., L., Ed., Com.	12	1	...	1,171	97	...
13. Delhi ...	A., Sc., L.	3	7	...	132	1,988	...
14. Nagpur ...	A., Sc., Ed., L., Ag.	...	1	14	...	450	3,317
15. Andhra ...	A., Sc., Ed., M., O.	2	...	22	280	...	3,379
16. Agra ...	A., Sc., L., Com., Ag.	...	...	16	...	...	4,132
17. Annamalai ...	A., Sc., O.	1	...	...	741	...	...

Abbreviations:—A. = Arts; Sc. = Science; L. = Law; M. = Medicine; Ed. = Education; Eng. = Engineering; Ag. = Agriculture; Com. = Commerce; Th. = Theology; O. = Oriental learning; F.A. = Fine Arts; Tech. = Technology.

	1921-22	1936-37
1. No. of Universities	12	17
2. No. of University Departments ...	207	118
3. No. of Constituent Colleges		50
4. No. of Affiliated Colleges		278
5. No. of Students:—		
(a) University Departments ...	Details not known	12,003
(b) Constituent Colleges		16,985
(c) Affiliated Colleges		97,240
Total ..	66,258	1,26,228

(*a*) A number of the students who flock to the University are not really fit to benefit by a course of university education. The presence of these students leads to wastage of funds and energy and also to a lowering of the standards to a certain extent. The problem of selecting proper persons for admission to a university has, therefore, assumed great importance in recent years.

(*b*) When the establishment of additional affiliating or unitary universities was proposed, it was believed that they would relieve the earlier affiliating universities of a part of their work and thereby help in reducing their size. But in spite of the creation of several new universities—both affiliating and unitary—the strain on the earlier affiliating universities still continues undiminished. The following statistics of 1917 and 1937 speak for themselves:—

University	No. of Students	
	1917	1937
1. Calcutta	28,618	35,357
2. Bombay	8,001	17,575
3. Madras	10,216	17,454
4. Punjab	6,558	19,841

It is clear that the creation of new universities has hardly kept pace with the growth of university education, mainly owing to the paucity of funds.

(c) The increase of students has taken place in the courses of liberal education rather than in those of professional education. The lop-sided development of collegiate education which was referred to in Chapter XII still continued during the period under review. For instance, take the following statistics :—

	1921-22	1936-37
1. No. of colleges of Arts and Science (including Oriental Colleges) ...	207	366
2. No. of colleges of black-coated professions of Teachers, Doctors & Lawyers	32	55
3. No. of colleges of other professions ...	12	25
4. No. students in Arts & Science Colleges (including Oriental Colleges) ...	54,473	1,04,923
5. No. of students in colleges of black-coated professions	10,277	15,846
6. No. of students in colleges of other professions	1,608	5,459

N.B.—The word 'college' as used here includes a University department or class.

(*d*) The sudden increase in the number of students under university instruction has greatly emphasized the problem of unemployment among the educated classes. The goal of most of the university degree-holders still continues to be service under Government—an avenue that is already crowded and that can never be expected to keep pace with the rapid growth of university education. Alternative careers in trade, industry, and commerce are not available in sufficiently large numbers because Indian trade and industries have not been developed. Consequently, the problem of securing suitable

employment for the highly educated youth of the country dominated the whole field of university education during the period under review.

(*e*) There was a noticeable tendency in most of the universities to undertake ambitious programmes—to try to provide instruction in almost all branches of knowledge, and eventually to scatter the available resources over a wide field. This tendency is to be greatly regretted, especially as it strains the financial resources of the universities. The funds of the universities come usually from three sources—endowments, Government grants, and fees. The revenue from the first source is not considerable at present; the Government grants are not large and are not likely to be increased in view of the large claims which the expansion of primary education has on the revenues of the state; and although the income from fees comes to a big amount at present, it will necessarily be diminished when the number of universities increases. Hence the problem of proper co-ordination of the work of the universities with a view to minimising duplication and overlapping and securing the best results from available resources became, during the period under review, a question of paramount importance. The Inter-University Board has not been able to deal with this problem; nor can it be expected to do so because its authority is not *above* the universities but emanates *from* them.

6. **Provision for Research.** An outstanding feature of the period under review is the considerable provision for research that was made by all the Indian universities. During the period 1854 to 1902, the main task of the Indian universities was " not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind

from the thraldom of old-world ideas, and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life, and thought, and character of the West." [1] In the period 1902-21, the universities turned their attention to teaching and research but their actual achievements were not considerable. During the period 1921-37, research work was organized by Indian universities on a far larger scale than ever before. This has been done by (1) maintenance of libraries and research departments, (2) institution of research degrees, (3) provision of scholarships and fellowships for research, and (4) university bulletins or publications. The Indian universities have thus already taken the field in the fight for the extension of the boundaries of knowledge and there is every reason to hope that they will soon begin to play a part that is worthy of the hoary traditions of this country.

7. **Development of Inter-Collegiate and Inter-University Activities**. Another important feature of the period under review was the development of inter-collegiate sports and competitions which soon became a feature of almost all Indian universities. The Inter-University Board also began to arrange inter-university sports and tournaments. These activities have created healthy contacts between university students and teachers in various parts of the country and form an important aspect of the growing national life of India.

8. **Provision of Military Training**. This period also witnessed the provision of military training by the organization of University Training Corps. The following table gives details about the corps as they stood in 1936-37 :—

[1] *Gokhale's Speeches* (Edition 1920), p. 235.

University	Year of the constitution of the Corps	Sanctioned establishment of the Corps	Actual strength of the Corps on 1st Apr. 1937
Bombay	1921	663	653
Calcutta	,,	663	580
Allahabad ... ... Benares ... ... Aligarh ... ... Lucknow ... ... Agra ... ... } ...	,,	663	632
Punjab	,,	663	595
Madras	,,	663	640
Patna	1922	165	131
Delhi	1924	330	324
Nagpur	1928	330	319
Bombay	1928	165	164
Dacca	1928	76	76

The institution of the corps proved extremely popular and during the period under review there was a considerable demand for its extension and even for the introduction of compulsory military training. It is also worthy of note that some universities have introduced military science as a subject of instruction. "In the Calcutta University curriculum, a course of military studies for the members of the University Training Corps was introduced in 1936. The Dacca University has decided to introduce military science as one paper in the ordinary B.A. examination. Ordinances for a certificate of proficiency in military science have also been framed by the Allahabad University, and regular instruction is being given. A scheme for the establishment of a military college is receiving the earnest attention of the authorities of the Aligarh Muslim University."[1]

9. **Residence and Health of Students.** Lastly, the

[1] *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1932-37, p. 75.

period under review is also remarkable for the great attention paid to the problem of the residence and health of the students for the improvement of which all the universities took such measures as were necessary and practicable. Provision was very largely made for medical inspection and compulsory physical education was also introduced by several universities. Regulations regarding the provision, control and management of hostels were also framed; and although a good deal of work yet remained to be done, it was a happy sign that the subject received the close attention it deserves.

10. **Intermediate Colleges.** One of the most important recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission was that the dividing line between school and university education should be drawn at the Intermediate and *not* at the Matriculation examination. The Commission held the view that the intermediate classes of Indian universities were really a part of the high school course, and that students in these classes could be more effectively taught by school methods than by those which were generally followed at the universities. The Commission, therefore, recommended that a new type of institution called Intermediate Colleges should be set up by the addition of two classes to selected high schools; and that the university course should begin after the Intermediate examination and be spread over three years instead of two. With this end in view the Commission also recommended the establishment of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education whose main duty would be to reorganize high school and intermediate education on the lines recommended by the Commission.[1]

[1] For details of the proposal, *vide* Chapters 31 and 32 of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Volume IV.

This recommendation made a great impression on Indian educational thought, and for a time it appeared to be on the verge of universal acceptance. The University Acts that came to be passed in the early years after the report of the Calcutta University Commission excluded or proposed to exclude intermediate education from the sphere of universities. Thus the Dacca University Act, 1921, dissociated intermediate education from its sphere and placed it under the control of a non-university board under the authority of the Government of Bengal. In the same way, the University Acts of Allahabad, Lucknow, and Aligarh, also provided for the exclusion of intermediate education from the sphere of the universities and placed it under the control of two Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education, one of which functioned within the territorial limits of the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities and the other within the jurisdiction of the Aligarh University. The Delhi University Act, 1922, also provided that the University should control intermediate education for a period of five years from the date of its foundation, or *until such further date as the Governor-General-in-Council may direct.* Similarly the Madras University Act of 1923 provided that as soon as adequate arrangements were made for the supervision and control of institutions preparing candidates for the Intermediate examination, the Provincial Government might exclude intermediate education from the purview of the University.[1]

Soon, however, a change came about and educational opinion began to turn round and oppose this proposal on the following grounds among others:—

[1] Sections 36 and 37 of the Act.

(*i*) Intermediate colleges of the type recommended by the Calcutta University Commission had not justified the expectations formed of them and a better method of reform would be to improve the standard of instruction in high schools.

(*ii*) The intermediate classes are a source of income to the degree colleges which would be faced with a serious financial deficit if the intermediate classes are cut off from them.

(*iii*) It would not be possible for intermediate colleges to engage the services of such competent teachers as were generally available in degree colleges.

(*iv*) Both from financial and academic points of view, it was a sounder proposition to run the intermediate and the degree classes in one institution. For this device enabled the management to use the savings in intermediate classes to meet the deficit on degree courses and to use the services of able teachers of the degree classes for instruction in intermediate classes also.

(*v*) This recommendation of the Calcutta University Commission is inseparably connected with the proposal to lengthen the degree course to three years. But this latter reform will not be accepted by the public on account of the fact that it increases the cost of higher education and postpones the time at which a young man should begin his wage-earning career.

(*vi*) The separation of intermediate education from the sphere of the university would deprive it of the substantial income it now receives from the fees of Matriculation and Intermediate candidates. The Calcutta University Commission had foreseen this and recommended that Government should give an additional grant to the University in order to compensate it for this loss. In the present circumstances, however, Provincial

Governments are not likely to be in a position to make additional grants to universities. The proposed reform, therefore, is likely to involve the universities in serious financial losses which cannot be made good from any other source.

For these and other reasons, the question was very hotly debated during the years 1922 to 1926 and educational opinion gradually hardened against this reform. An indication of this changing outlook is provided by the University Acts passed since 1926. The Andhra University Act of 1926, the Bombay University Act of 1928, the Annamalai University Act of 1929, and the Patna University Act of 1932, definitely permit the universities to control intermediate education. Ordinarily, the control of the Delhi University over intermediate education ought to have ceased in 1927; but the period of its control is being extended from year to year and the Delhi University still continues to control intermediate education. There are no indications to show that the Madras University is even contemplating to give up control over intermedite education. Even in the United Provinces, where the experiment was tried in earnest, opinion turned against the recommendation and the Agra University Act of 1927 permitted the holding of intermediate classes in colleges affiliated to the University, although such classes had been placed under the control of a non-university body called "the Board of High School and Intermediate Education". These instances are enough to show how educational thought in India completely turned against the suggestion made by the Sadler Commission.

The Dacca University and three Provinces, viz., United Provinces, the Punjab, and Bihar, took up the suggestion and gave it a trial. The Dacca University begins

its work at the post-intermediate stage. The United Provinces created a Board of High School and Intermediate Education whose duties included (1) the conduct of high school and intermediate examinations, (2) prescription of the courses of studies for the high school and intermediate stages, (3) granting of recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges, (4) periodical inspection of recognised institutions, etc. A large number of intermediate colleges came to be organized in this Province; but the complementary recommendation of the Commission to lengthen the degree course from two years to three has not been accepted at all. The Punjab organized intermediate colleges mainly with a view to preventing students from crowding into Lahore and providing opportunities of higher education at mofussil places where it was not possible to organize a first-grade college. Bihar seems to have tried a few colleges as an experimental measure. It will be seen, therefore, that the experiment has not been fully tried anywhere.

The experience gained in these Provinces is worthy of note. The Bihar Report for 1931-32 observes that "these institutions are not likely to be very successful, because the better students will always, if they can, join the first grade colleges at the first year stage,"[1] and the Report for 1936-37 states that "the position, as stated by the last quinquennial review remains unchanged, viz., that these institutions are never likely to be very successful."[2] The Punjab report for 1936-37 remarks that "intermediate colleges have dwindled in popularity and have not been very successful as four-year institutions. Government cannot

[1] Page 30.
[2] Page 38.

continue to spend sums of money every year on institutions which have not justified their existence, especially when funds are more badly needed for worthier and more urgent objects."[1] The report of the United Provinces alone is optimistic. It observes that "the product of the intermediate colleges is better grounded and more able to benefit from advanced instruction than the product of intermediate classes attached to degree colleges."[2]

The question was also considered by the Inter-University Board and the conclusion reached was against the recommendation. Later on, the question was considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education which worked out a compromise and suggested that the junior intermediate class should form part of the school course and that the senior intermediate class should form part of the degree course. The suggestion is worth a trial; but it was not adopted anywhere during the period under review.

11. **Non-University Institutions.** This account of the incorporated universities may now be closed with a brief account of some institutions which give instruction of a university standard, but which, for some reason or other, are neither included in the category of the incorporated universities nor affiliated to any recognized university. The most important of these are the following:—

1. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
2. The Bose Research Institute, Calcutta.
3. The Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore.

[1] Page 2 (Government Resolution).
[2] *Report*, 1936-37, p. 40.

4. The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.
5. The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.
6. The Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.
7. Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Indian Women's University, Bombay.
8. The Visva Bharati.
9. The Serampore College.
10. National Universities.

12. **The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona**. The Institute was started in 1917 with a view to offering facilities to research workers in Oriental Literature and, at the same time, commemorating the work and the name of the great Oriental scholar, the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. The Government of Bombay was pleased to hand over to the Institute the MSS library which was formerly located in the Deccan College, Poona, and the management of the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series together with an annual grant of Rs. 10,000 set aside for the purpose. The most important work on which the Institute is engaged at present is to bring out a critical edition of the Mahabharata. Among the other activities of the Institute, may be mentioned the following:—

(*i*) Maintenance of a MSS Library which has more than 20,000 Sanskrit and Prakrit volumes at present;

(*ii*) Collection and preservation of Avesta, Pahlavi, Persian, and Arabic MSS.

(*iii*) Conducting a research journal and a Publication Department which has already over 80 volumes to its credit.

(*iv*) Imparting post-graduate instruction in Sanskrit, Pali, Ardhamagadhi, and Ancient Indian Culture.

13. **The Bose Research Institute, Calcutta.** The Institute was founded in 1917 by the late Sir J. C. Bose with the object of training a band of able and devoted workers in the cause of research. In the words of the founder, " the function of the Bose Institute differs from that of college teaching. Only by long and arduous personal training are the scholars made competent to undertake original investigation on intricate and hitherto unsuspected phenomena. Post-graduate scholars are carefully selected for receiving special training out of candidates who have taken degrees in Science. They are admitted on condition that they devote themselves wholly to the prosecution of research." The Institute provides facilities for investigations in (*a*) Plant Physiology and Genetics, (*b*) Bio- and Agricultural Chemistry, (*c*) Zoology and Animal Physiology, (*d*) Anthropology, and (*e*) Theoretical and Experimental Physics.

14. **The Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore.** This Institute was established in 1921 with the object of creating (*a*) a technological research centre in order to promote the industrial development of the United Provinces, and (*b*) a recruiting centre for technologists qualified to occupy positions on the supervising staffs of selected industries. It has two sections: a general research section in which advanced students are trained in methods of industrial research, and an oil section in which students are specially trained for higher posts in oil-seed crushing mills, oil refineries, soap-works, and paint and varnish works.

15. **The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.** This Institute owes its origin to the generosity of Henry Phipps, an American philanthropist, who gave £30,000 to Lord Curzon, "to be devoted to some

object of public utility in India, preferably in the direction of scientific research." It was first established at Pusa (Bihar) and having been greatly damaged by the terrible earthquake of 1934, it was transferred to Delhi. Its activities are mainly devoted to research, experiment, and education. As regards research, the Institute deals with problems of all-India importance, or with problems that cannot be studied conveniently or properly by provincial departments of agriculture. On the educational side, the Institute provides post-graduate courses in agriculture and also serves as an information bureau on all agricultural matters. Lastly, the Institute conducts an experimental farm in New Delhi and also controls a number of research stations at other places in India.

16. **The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.** The Institute owes its origin to the generosity of the famous Tata family and began its work in 1911. Its laboratories provide facilities for post-graduate work in five main branches of science, viz., Physics, General Chemistry, Organic Chemistry, Bio-Chemistry, and Electrical Technology. The Institute also maintains an excellent scientific library comprising upwards of 30,000 volumes and conducts a *Journal* devoted to research.

17. **The Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.** This institution was established by the Government of India in 1926 in order "to provide high grade instruction in Mining Engineering and in Geology along the lines of the courses of instruction given in the Royal School of Mines, London, and similar mining colleges of Great Britain." It is located on a site which is within easy reach of the coalfields of Raniganj, Giridh, Bokaro, and Jharia, which are together responsible for 95 per cent of the total output of coal in British India. Admission

to the School is by competitive examination to which only students who have passed the Intermediate examination of an Indian University are admitted. The School provides three-year courses in Coal Mining, Metal Mining and Geology and four-year courses in Mining-Engineering and Geology.

18. **Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University, Bombay**. The University was founded in 1916 by Professor D. K. Karve with the following aims and objects:—

(*a*) To make provision for the higher education of women through modern Indian languages as media of instruction and examination;

(*b*) To formulate and lay down courses of study specially suited to the needs of women;

(*c*) To provide for the training of women teachers for primary and secondary schools; and

(*d*) To start, aid, and affiliate, institutions for women's education on the above lines and to institute and confer degrees and diplomas.

The University conducted, in 1937, two colleges at Poona and Bombay and had two colleges affiliated to it, one at Ahmedabad and the other at Baroda. It also conducted collegiate classes at Nagpur and a number of other places. It conducted two high schools and had twenty-one high schools affiliated to it.[1]

19. **The Visva Bharati.** The Visva Bharati was founded and endowed by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on 6th May, 1922, with the declared object of—

(*a*) bringing the diverse cultures of the East into more intimate relationship with one another;

[1] The University was unrecognised till 1939. The Government of Bombay then gave it a recurring grant of Rs. 5,000 a year and recognised the Diplomas granted by it.

(*b*) approaching the science and culture of the West from the standpoint of their unity, and

(*c*) realising in common fellowship and humanitarian activity, the concord of the East and the West, and thus bringing about the conditions that may lead to world harmony.

The institution is co-educational and residential and has attracted students, not only from every part of India, but also from distant parts of Asia and Europe. It maintains the following departments:—

(*i*) *Vidya-Bhavana,* or a School of Research, where facilities are available for research in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Bengali literature and in Indian philosophy, Buddhism, and Indian mysticism;

(*ii*) *Cheena-Bhavana,* or a School of Sino-Indian studies, which has a library of about 1,00,000 volumes in Chinese. Its object is to encourage Indian students to study Chinese culture and *vice versa*;

(*iii*) *Shiksha-Bhavana,* or a College which is affiliated to the Calcutta University;

(*iv*) *Kala-Bhavana,* or a department of Fine Arts, which has introduced a new school of painting that has received world-wide recognition;

(*v*) *Sangit-Bhavana,* or a School of Music and Dancing;

(*vi*) *Sriniketan,* or an Institute of Rural Reconstruction; and

(*vii*) *Silpa-Bhavana,* or a School of Industries whose object is the encouragement and promotion of the cottage industries in the district.

20. **The Serampore College.** This institution was founded in 1818 by the *Serampore Trio* "for the instruction of Asiatic Christian and other youth in Eastern

literature and European science." It was incorporated as a "University" in 1827 by a Charter granted by the King of Denmark—a document which was confirmed by the British Government in 1845, when Serampore was purchased by it. In 1857, the College was affiliated to the Calcutta University. The 'University' classes were suspended for a number of years but again in 1910, the college was reorganized under its council on an inter-denominational basis. In 1918, the Bengal Legislative Council passed the Serampore College Act under which the College is affiliated to the Calcutta University for Arts and Science, while in Theology it confers its own degrees and diplomas.

21. **The National Universities.** Most of the national universities that came to be established at the time of the non-co-operation movement of 1919-21 had a chequered career; but the following account of the Jamia Millia Islamia (National Muslim University), which is still actively working will give an insight into the ideals and methods of the national universities.

The Jamia was founded by the late Maulana Mahomad Ali in 1920 at Aligarh, but for administrative reasons it was shifted to Delhi in 1925. It has refused to seek recognition at the hands of Government for, in the words of its promoters, it has preferred "the hardships and ordeals of an honourable independence to the enervating security of a permanent grant which would frustrate its noblest ambitions." Its objects are the following:—

(*a*) It seeks to broaden the education of the youth on their own cultural heritage without rejecting what is true and useful in the culture of others. It inculcates the spirit of service, of tolerance, of self-control and self-respect.

(*b*) It aims at building character by providing adequately for the intellectual and emotional needs of the growing mind and affording constant opportunity for active self-expression, and by replacing the discipline of fear by the development of initiative and responsibility.

The Jamia Millia is conducting:—

(*i*) A residential University College, imparting higher instruction in the arts and social sciences, with special provision for imparting instruction in modern languages and social sciences to graduates of Arabic Madressahs. There is a library for reference and study consisting of over 20,000 volumes, and a Natural Science laboratory.

(*ii*) A residential High School on modern lines with opportunities for developing skill in the arts and crafts, with special emphasis on individual work.

(*iii*) A residential Primary School, conducted mostly on the Project Method, with a school garden, a school bank and co-operative shop, managed entirely by the boys.

(*iv*) The Jamia Education Centre No. 1, the first of a projected number of centres for primary and adult education.

(*v*) The Jamia Chemical Industries, attached to the Jamia Science Laboratory for manufacturing various chemical preparations of daily use.

(*vi*) The Urdu Academy, which, by its publications, has made a substantial contribution to serious literature in Urdu.

(*vii*) The *Jamia*, an Urdu monthly magazine of Social Science and Literature.

(*viii*) The Maktaba (Jamia Book Depot), with about the largest stock of Urdu books and a creditable record in the publication of educational literature.

About four hundred students from various parts of India and other Asiatic lands are studying in the Jamia.

The Jamia has no permanent funds; and according to the promoters "may never have any beyond the courage and sacrifice of those who are conducting it and the appreciation and sympathy of the public." It has been receiving substantial aid from the Governments of

H. E. H. the Nizam and Bhopal and also from the Delhi Municipality. But its biggest source of income is the large number of its supporters called "Hamdardanė Jamia", whose number is about 7,000, and who contribute a part of their earnings to the maintenance of the Jamia.

CHAPTER XXII

SECONDARY EDUCATION

(1921-1937)

THE growth of secondary education during the period under review was even more remarkable than that of university education. There was a considerable increase in the number of institutions; the number of scholars was nearly doubled; and although expenditure from Government funds did not increase materially owing to financial stringency, there was so great an expansion of non-Government efforts that the total direct expenditure on secondary education increased from Rs. 443 lakhs in 1921-22 to Rs. 793 lakhs in 1936-37. In this chapter we shall trace the history of this great expansion and discuss the defects of the educational system which it threw into sharp relief and the problems which it created.

2. **Expansion of Secondary Education.** To begin with, the expansion of secondary education achieved during the period will be seen from the following statistics[1] for 1921-22 and 1936-37 :—

—	1921-22	1936-37
No. of Recognised Secondary Schools ...	7,530	13,056
No. of Scholars in Recognised Secondary Schools	11,06,803	22,87,872

[1] Figures for British India only, excluding Burma.

It should be remembered, however, that these figures are subject to all those limitations of statistical comparison which were pointed out in Chapter XIII and they cannot, therefore, be taken as giving an *exact* picture of the extent of secondary education as it was either in 1921-22 or in 1936-37; the defects, however, are common to both the years and may be ignored for purposes of comparison. The statistics show unmistakably the great expansion of secondary education that took place during the period.

This rapid expansion was due to several causes, the more important of which were the awakening among the people, the opening of secondary schools in semi-urban or rural areas, and the special efforts made to spread higher education among the less advanced sections of the population. As pointed out in Chapter XX, the period under review witnessed a great awakening among the people. This created a desire for the acquisition of higher education; and consequently even those sections of the population which had not hitherto manifested any strong desire for higher education now began to send their children to secondary schools in large numbers.

Secondly, a large number of new secondary schools were opened during this period in mofussil towns and bigger villages by enterprising individuals and associations. The causes that led to the establishment of such schools were several. Very often they were either a local patriotism or a desire on the part of parents to give secondary education to their children in their own locality rather than to send them to distant towns at a tender age. Sometimes schools were opened by social workers who wanted to spread higher education to rural and backward areas. Now and then a new school came

to be established as a result of unhappy circumstances such as factions in an older school leading to a split among the workers. There were also cases in which the growing unemployment among the educated classes led some to found a school for the simple reason that they could not cultivate any other vocation in life. But instances of the latter types were indeed few, and it may be stated that the vast majority of the new secondary schools of this period belonged to the first two categories described above.

This opening of new secondary schools in the smaller towns, and even in bigger villages, was a veritable boon to the parents in the rural areas. Formerly they had to send their children to the bigger towns and cities if they desired to give them the benefit of secondary education. This was a costly affair; besides, as already pointed out, parents were generally unwilling to send their children to the bigger towns and cities at a very tender age for fear of exposing them to all the temptations of a city life. When, however, secondary schools came to be opened in rural or semi-urban areas, the villagers took immediate advantage of the opportunity; and this period, therefore, witnessed a great increase in the enrolment of pupils from rural areas.

Lastly, this rise was partly due to the extensive efforts that were made in this period to spread higher education among women and the less advanced classes of the population. These may be grouped under three categories :—

(*a*) Attempts made by Government such as the opening of special institutions, reservation of accommodation in Government institutions, awards

of scholarships and free studentships, preferential recruitment in Government services, etc.;

(b) Attempts made by the communities themselves to organize funds for awarding scholarships, maintenance of hostels, etc.; and

(c) Attempts made by philanthropic or social service organizations.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that most of this expansion was due to private enterprise. For instance, compare the following statistics:—

—	1921-22	1936-37
Institutions for Boys conducted by:		
Government	379	436
Boards	2,273	5,649
Private Bodies—Aided	2,883	4,073
" " —Unaided	1,320	1,573
Total for Boys ...	6,855	11,731
Institutions for Girls, conducted by:		
Government	115	207
Boards	70	235
Private Bodies—Aided	468	799
" " —Unaided	22	84
Total for Girls ...	675	1,325
Grand total of all institutions for boys and girls	7,530	13,056

N.B.—Figures for British India, exclusive of Burma.

It will be seen that Government secondary schools increased by only 149, while private schools increased by as many as 1,836 (1,521 aided and 315 unaided). Figures for the number of pupils reading in the secondary schools conducted by the above agencies cannot be given separately; but these would evidently be more

or less in a similar proportion to that of the number of institutions.[1]

3. **Some Aspects of Expansion.** This rapid expansion of secondary education, it may be pointed out, was not a special feature of the period 1921-37 only. In fact, it had been going on continually since 1882 as the following statistics show:—

Year	No. of Secondary Schools	No. of Pupils in Secondary Schools
1881-82 ...	3,916	2,14,077
1901-02 ...	5,124	5,90,129
1921-22 ...	7,530	11,06,803
1936-37 ...	13,056	22,87,872

It will be seen that, during each period, there has been a substantial increase in the number of schools and an increase of about 100 per cent in the number of scholars. The following conclusions may, therefore, be drawn from the above statistics and the narrative of the growth of secondary education given in the preceding chapters:—

(*i*) A great renaissance in Indian national life began about the year 1880; and inspired by patriotic motives, educated Indians entered the field of private enterprise in secondary education;

[1] The following figures for secondary schools for *boys* only will throw light on the problem:—

Scholars in institutions for boys conducted by	1921-22	1936-37
Government ..	91,484	1,24,369
Boards ..	2,95,608	8,14,387
Private Bodies—Aided ..	4,56,011	8,23,769
" " —Unaided ..	1,79,111	2,72,912
Total for boys institutions	10,22,214	20,35,437

(Figures for British India, exclusive of Burma.)

(*ii*) The recommendations of the Indian Education Commission—which were mostly accepted by Provincial Governments—were extremely favourable for the growth of private enterprise in secondary education, especially for the growth of Indian enterprise;

(*iii*) Consequently, private Indian enterprise in secondary education developed considerably in the period 1882-1902;

(*iv*) The movement grew stronger with the passage of time and, in spite of a change in Government policy after 1904, private secondary schools conducted by Indians increased enormously in the period 1902 to 1921;

(*v*) The movement continued with greater force throughout the period 1921 to 1937, although the country suffered at this time from one of the most severe economic depressions known to history; and more remarkable still, the movement spread, during this period, to rural areas, among women, and among the less advanced sections of society;

(*vi*) The *encouragement* of private Indian enterprise in secondary education had ceased to be a problem by 1937. On the other hand, the number of private secondary schools had increased so greatly that the problem of secondary education became virtually the problem of private secondary schools. The educational administrators of this period, therefore, had to face the more difficult task of controlling abnormal developments and of directing private effort into fruitful channels.

4. **The Medium of Instruction.** The second important achievement of the period under review was the large-scale adoption of the modern Indian languages as the media of instruction at the secondary stage. The following brief notes will show how the victory was won.

Madras.—In 1925, Government issued orders permitting the use of the modern Indian languages as the media of instruction and examination in all non-language subjects in the three highest forms (IV, V and VI) of secondary schools. The movement spread rather slowly; but by 1937, fifty-one per cent of the high schools had adopted the Indian languages as media of instruction.

Bombay.—In 1926, revised regulations were framed for the School Leaving Certificate Examination which permitted the candidates to answer question papers in history and in classical Indian languages in any of the recognized Indian languages of the Province, viz., Marathi, Gujerathi, Kannada, Urdu and Sindhi. Later on, this concession was extended to the Matriculation and by 1937 candidates were permitted to answer question papers in history, geography, and classical languages in any of the languages mentioned above. Nearly all secondary schools (with the exception of a few schools which had special reasons for retaining English) used the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the above subjects.

Bengal.—It was decided that modern Indian languages should be used as the media of instruction in all non-language subjects beginning with the year 1930; and it was reported in 1937 that "the medium of instruction in high schools is nominally English but in practice, except in a few schools, instruction is usually given in a mixture of English and the mother-tongue of the pupils."[1]

United Provinces.—During the quinquennium 1927-32, candidates for the high school examination were allowed to answer question papers either in English or in a modern Indian language according to their choice. Similarly, high schools were allowed to adopt these languages, with the special permission of the Director of Public Instruction, as the media of instruction in the two highest classes of the secondary course. It may be stated, however, that an application for such permission was never refused in practice.

Bihar and Orissa.—The Bihar Education Committee of 1923 recommended that modern Indian languages should be used as the media of instruction in the four highest classes. The regulations of the Patna University were, therefore, altered so as to permit the use of these languages as media of exami-

[1] *Progress of Education in India,* 1932-37, Vol. I, p. 98.

nation at the Matriculation after the year 1928, in all subjects except English and Mathematics. In 1925, Government decided that in those Government high schools, where there were two divisions in the upper classes, the experiment of using the Indian languages as media of instruction should be tried in one division of each standard, English continuing to be the medium of instruction in the other. Privately managed high schools were also encouraged to adopt the modern Indian languages as media of instruction in the upper secondary classes.

Central Provinces.—In 1922-23, the use of modern Indian languages as media of instruction was made compulsory in Government High Schools and was left optional in the case of aided institutions. Several difficulties, however, arose in practice. Provision had to be made for three languages, viz., Marathi, Hindi and Urdu. But as it was not possible, on financial grounds, to provide for all the languages, Government was often called upon to choose between sacrificing the language of the minority or the maintenance of a section where English would still continue to be the medium of instruction. Ultimately, therefore, the orders were modified to the effect that the medium of instruction in a Government High School would be "the Indian language commonly spoken in the area in which the school is situated", but that Government would maintain a section teaching through English if one is demanded. By 1937, as many as 30 private high schools (out of a total of 54) had adopted Indian languages as the media of instruction, 16 used English, and 8 imparted instruction through both the media.

Punjab.—In the quinquennium 1927-32, candidates for the Matriculation were allowed to answer question papers in history and geography either in English or in a modern Indian language.

A perusal of the above developments will show that the principle of imparting secondary education through the mother-tongue of the pupils came to be universally accepted during the period under review. But 'theory conflicted with practice' and for several reasons, the use of English as a medium of instruction was not completely abandoned. Some of these reasons are given below:—

(*i*) The use of English as a medium of instruction at the University stage, coupled with the fact that the secondary course is merely an appendage of the University course and not a self-contained unit as it ought to have been, still led several managers of schools to adopt English as a medium of instruction.

(*ii*) Parents as well as pupils desired a proficiency in English because the medium of examination in Government Competitive Examinations still continued to be English and a person with a good command of English generally had a greater chance of success in such examinations and in securing employment under Government.

(*iii*) In multi-lingual areas where it was not possible, on financial grounds, to give instruction through all languages, English was often adopted as a medium of instruction.

(*iv*) In the earlier stages of the experiment, such difficulties as the absence of a scientific terminology, lack of suitable text-books and competent teachers, etc., were made much of. Even though these complaints had ceased to be of much practical importance, they were still used as a reason for the continued use of English.

(*v*) In Hindi-Urdu areas—such as the United Provinces—difficulties of *script* were found to be more important than those of *language*. For instance, there was a departmental order in the United Provinces, that the Indian language used for instruction must be such as can be understood by both Hindi and Urdu speaking pupils. In carrying this out, the difficulties of script arose and black-board work had to be carried out in Devanagari and Urdu, or Roman scripts. The experiment of using a language commonly understood by Hindi and Urdu speaking pupils has, however, its practical advantages and there is a growing belief that it may lead

to the development of a "mixed language . . . (which) will make a better language than Sanscritised Hindi or Persianised Urdu", and it is even reported that "a shapely and vigorous language is being evolved from the non-descript jargon which headmasters complained of at first."[1]

It may thus be stated that by the year 1937, the question of the medium of instruction at the secondary stage had almost ceased to exist as a "problem". It is true that certain difficulties in the way of a complete victory still remained. But it was realised that they were not insurmountable. The most formidable obstacle was the use of English as the medium at the University stage. Hence the attention of educationists now came to be directed to such problems as that of the medium of instruction at the University, the development of a national language for India, and the creation of a uniform scientific terminology.

5. **Problems of Teachers in Secondary Schools.** The movement that had begun in the earlier period in favour of training secondary teachers continued with greater force during the period under review. In 1936-37, there were 15 institutions for training teachers for secondary (English) schools with an enrolment of 1,488 which included 147 women. The percentage of trained men teachers in secondary schools was as under:—

Madras	84.7	Bombay	22.8
Bengal	20.7	United Provinces	67.2
Punjab	89.7	Bihar	54.4
Central Provinces	70.2	Assam	39.0
North-West Frontier	80.3	Sind	16.5
Orissa	70.8	Delhi	82.8

[1] *D.P.I.'s Report* (U.P.), 1927-32, p. 42.

The main feature of this period, however, is not the improvement in the training of secondary teachers but the greater attention that now came to be paid to the salaries and conditions of service of teachers in private schools which had, by this time, expanded and multiplied to a very great extent. The salaries of these teachers were low because the resources of the private secondary schools were far from satisfactory. The conditions of service also left a good deal to be desired and, except in rare instances, there was neither any security of tenure nor any provision for old age. These difficulties of teachers soon attracted notice and it was realised that the efficiency of teaching in secondary schools could not be improved unless the secondary teachers were assured of a fair remuneration and decent conditions of service. The following brief *resume* of the main events in some provinces will show the nature of the attempts made in this period to improve the pay and conditions of service in non-Government secondary schools.

(*i*) *United Provinces.*—A Provident Fund Scheme for teachers in aided schools was introduced in 1922. According to this scheme, each permanent teacher was required to contribute 6¼ per cent of his salary to the Provident Fund. To this the management added half as much. Interest was guaranteed at 3 per cent and Government gave a grant equal to one-third of the total amount formed by the contributions of the teacher and the management and interest. Expenditure incurred by the management for purposes of provident funds was considered as approved expenditure for grant-in-aid. Participation in the scheme was made obligatory on all schools recognised since 1922 and most of the other schools were reported to have joined the scheme although it was not obligatory on their part to do so. Similarly, an attempt was made to give security of service to teachers in private schools by making a rule to the effect that an agreement in a prescribed form must be entered into between every permanent teacher (engaged after 1929) and the management.

(*ii*) In *Bihar and Orissa,* the pay and prospects of teachers in aided secondary schools were improved by a revision of the rules of grant-in-aid in 1923-24 and again in 1925-26. At the same time, a system of provident fund was also introduced for all the aided secondary schools. During the next quinquennium, 1927-32, an attempt was made to give security of tenure to teachers in aided schools by providing an appeal to the Educational Inspectors in the case of high school teachers dismissed with or without notice. If the Inspector concurred with the action taken, the appeal was rejected. If not, it was submitted to the Board of Secondary Education for orders.

(*iii*) In *Madras,* a special grant of a lakh of rupees a year was sanctioned in the quinquennium 1922-27 for the improvement of the pay of teachers in aided secondary schools. In 1923, a provident fund scheme was introduced in all recognised secondary schools for all certificated teachers, pandits, instructors, clerks and librarians whose pay was Rs. 20 or more.

(*iv*) In *Bengal,* a special recurring annual grant of Rs. 3 lakhs was sanctioned in 1925-26 for the improvement of pay of teachers in aided secondary schools and a general provident fund scheme for the whole province was sanctioned at the end of the quinquennium 1922-27. Recognition was refused to proprietary schools, as the conditions of service in these were generally unsatisfactory. All high schools were required to have a regularly constituted managing body according to the 'school code' framed by the University, which also created an Arbitration Board to which teachers were privileged to appeal against the decision of managing committees.

(*v*) In the *Punjab,* the institution of a provident fund was made compulsory on all aided secondary schools in the quinquennium 1922-27, and Government paid special provident fund grants to schools which administered it according to standard rules.

(*vi*) In *Assam,* a special grant of Rs. 20,000, which was to rise annually by Rs. 5,000 till it reached Rs. 45,000, was sanctioned for improving the pay of teachers in aided high schools.

(*vii*) In *Bombay,* though no action had been taken, the problem was being discussed widely and the attention of Government had been drawn to its urgency.

6. **Provision of Vocational Courses.** The problem of providing vocational education at the secondary stage became even more important and complicated in this period than in the preceding one. This was due to three causes: Firstly, the expansion of secondary education led to the enrolment of many a pupil who was not quite 'at home' in the almost exclusively literary education that was offered in the average secondary school and who would have been able to attain a better self-expression through the pursuit of some vocational skill; secondly, the opening of a large number of secondary schools in rural areas created a problem which did not exist before, viz., the adaptation of the secondary school to rural needs and environment; and finally, the large increase in the number of girls' secondary schools created the problem of devising special courses suited to their requirements.

The following brief account of provincial events will show that very little was achieved during this period regarding the provision of vocational courses at the secondary stage:—

In *Madras*, a fairly large number of manual training classes were attached to secondary schools. The subjects introduced, in the order of their popularity, were wood-work, spinning and weaving, book-binding, cardboard work, textile-printing, rattan and coirwork, and horticulture.

In *Bombay*, hardly anything had been done; only a few schools having introduced practical training in their courses.

In *Bengal*, it was reported that, barring a few schools which owed 'their existence to the enthusiasm of idealists or to missionary enterprise', no effort had been made to create a sense of commercial, industrial, or agricultural enterprise in the pupils of secondary schools.

In *Bihar*, a few manual training classes were opened and the University included manual training and domestic science in the list of optional subjects at the Matriculation. But in

1936-37, it was reported that the general tendency to offer only literary subjects persisted as before.

The reports from the United Provinces, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces (quoted below) were slightly encouraging, although they fell far short of what the situation needed:—

"In the *United Provinces,* manual training is at present entirely confined to wood working, though in the lower classes work in paper and cardboard is done. Where taken it is compulsory from III to VIII and optional in Classes IX and X, where it is not very popular. The Lucknow Inspector reports that the quality of work done in some of the high schools is of a very high order. In large cities, there is a demand for teaching in commerce and classes are full. Agriculture is a subject for the high school examination and is taken in a few schools throughout the province. It is stated to be popular but the lack of a practical test detracts somewhat from its utility. Spinning and weaving are also taught in some schools and at the Jai Narain School, Benares, it has proved a distinct success. Book-binding is taken as a subject for the high school examination in some schools and in others as a part of handicraft teaching. Several schools teach handicraft, either as part of the school course or as extra curricular activities but the majority are still wedded to a purely literary course.

In the *Punjab,* the high and vernacular schools in rural areas are proving of great value to the villagers. Educational facilities have now been brought more or less to the doors of those who in the past were reluctant to send their children to distant towns in search of post-primary instruction owing to the expense involved and other reasons. To give an agricultural and vocational bias to instruction in these schools, farms and plots, manual training centres and village handicrafts have been introduced. Vegetable growing, fruit farming and floriculture are introduced as hobbies. Soap, ink, *chik* and basket-making, book-binding, rope twisting and *charpoy* weaving are practised in a number of vernacular schools.

There are now 36 manual training centres attached to secondary schools in the Punjab. All these centres specialize

in elementary carpentry and the subject is said to be becoming increasingly popular with the pupils.

In the *Central Provinces*, manual training centres are attached to 16 Government high schools and one Anglo-vernacular middle school and are in the charge of trained instructors. The policy of allowing pupils from non-government local schools to avail themselves of these facilities has proved a success. Candidates from schools, which provide instruction in wood-work, have taken this subject for the High School Certificate Examination. It is reported that though their number at present is small, it is likely to grow in the immediate future. Four vernacular middle schools in Nagpur Circle and two in Berar and two in Chattisgarh have agricultural training classes attached to them. It is reported that there is a demand for the teaching of agriculture particularly in vernacular middle schools in rural areas, and a few local bodies have undertaken the introduction of this subject in some of their schools. Instruction in agriculture in classes attached to vernacular middle schools and aided by Government is reported to be fairly satisfactory on the whole. There are also signs of vocational training such as tailoring, weaving and carpentry being encouraged in a few vernacular middle schools."[1]

7. **Conclusion.** The foregoing account of the history of secondary education between 1921 and 1937 will show that the most important feature of the period was a rapid expansion and multiplication of secondary schools, especially of those under private management. Obviously, such an expansion is a welcome feature of the educational life of a country. But it has also its darker side ; one has to note that this expansion of secondary education not only accentuated some of the existing defects of the system but also created new problems of its own. The most important of these may be briefly stated as under :

(*a*) The large increase in the enrolment of girls at the secondary stage necessitated the planning of special courses suited to their needs and raised questions regarding the advisability of co-education, the organization of

[1] *Progress of Education in India,* 1932-37, Vol. I, pp. 108-9.

special secondary schools for girls, the appointment of women teachers in mixed secondary schools and the training of women teachers;

(*b*) The opening of schools in rural areas necessitated the preparation of secondary courses in keeping with rural environment;

(*c*) The rush of pupils to secondary schools and the absence of vocational courses to divert them into various walks of life increased the drift to the matriculation and to colleges; and the work of universities was hampered by the inflow of a number of candidates who were not likely to be benefited by a University course;

(*d*) There was a complaint from some quarters that the inordinate rush of pupils to secondary schools was leading to a lowering of standards; and it was generally felt that the organization of secondary education was showing signs of a strain under the great increase in the number of schools and scholars;

(*e*) The problem of educated unemployment began to loom large on the horizon, as the out-turn of persons who had received a literary education was far in excess of the needs of the black-coated professions;

(*f*) The problem of secondary education became virtually the problem of aided secondary schools, and questions regarding grants to aided schools and the remuneration and conditions of service of teachers working in them began to receive prominent attention;

(*g*) Finally, there was a large increase in the secondary schools managed on a communal or sectarian basis. Although there are certain advantages in this type of school, especially with regard to the provision of religious instruction, there are some serious drawbacks as

pointed out by the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1927-32 :—

> "The rapid multiplication of these schools has not only resulted in unnecessary duplication and extravagance, sometimes in weakening of discipline, but also in stimulating the unfortunate communal controversies which mar the progress of India..... It cannot be beneficial that boys should spend the impressionable years of youth in the narrowing atmosphere of a communal institution and that they should be denied intimate association with boys of other communities."[1]

It was owing to these and other problems that a demand for a drastic reform of the system of secondary education began to be made during this period. As the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal observed :—

> "There is the problem of waste, of misdirected effort, of a training that fits a boy for college and almost unfits him for everything else, that takes boys away from the normal and natural occupations of the country and leaves them hopeless and helpless at the end. The first question that the educationalist must ask is 'what should and does it all lead to?' and this is the question which, in Bengal, is constantly shirked or to which, at any rate, no answer has yet been found. The existing system refuses to recognise that it has had its day and must cease to be, at any rate, as a general system for the whole province; there must be changes or alternatives."[2]

It is these problems of great importance to which the Indian educationists of today have to find a solution.

[1] Vol. I, p. 106.

[2] *Progress of Education in India,* 1922-27, Vol. I, para 181.

CHAPTER XXIII

PRIMARY EDUCATION

(1921-1937)

THE most important event of the history of Indian education under diarchy is the rapid development of mass education. We have seen in Chapter XVII that the slow advance of mass education was one of the weakest links in the modern educational system of India, and that Government policy had often been criticised on that account. On the other hand, Indian public opinion had shown a very keen interest in mass education and the liquidation of illiteracy and it was, therefore, generally expected that the Indian Ministers would try their best to grapple with the problem of universal, free, and compulsory, primary education. This, in fact, they did; and the following brief notes will show how this war against illiteracy was generally planned.

2. **Primary Education Acts.** The most important event of the decade 1917-27 was the passing of Compulsory Education Acts in most of the provinces of British India. Some of these Acts, it is true, were passed prior to the transfer of the education department to Indian Ministers. But, as action on most of them began to be taken only during the period under review, more appropriately, their study forms part of the development of education under diarchy.

The following table shows the details regarding the various provincial Acts of compulsory education:—

Year	Province	Name of the Act	Compulsion whether for Boys or Girls	Whether applicable to Rural or Urban areas
1919	Punjab	Primary Education Act	Boys	Both
"	United Provinces	"	Both	Municipal
"	Bengal	"	Boys (extended to girls by an amendment in 1932)	"
"	Bihar and Orissa	"	Boys	Both
1920	Bombay	City of Bombay P. E. Act	Both	Applicable to City of Bombay only
"	Central Provinces	P. E. Act	"	Both
"	Madras	Elementary Education Act	"	"
1923	Bombay	P. E. Act	"	Applicable to the whole of the Province except Bombay City
1926	Assam	"	"	Both
"	United Provinces	District Boards P. E. Act	"	To rural areas only
1930	Bengal	Bengal (Rural) P. E. Act	"	"

A detailed study of each individual Act is beyond the scope of this book. But the following comments on their main features will be found interesting :—

(*i*) These Acts transferred large powers of administration and control over primary education to the local authorities, i.e., to the local self-government institutions which were entrusted with the responsibility of making adequate provision for primary education in their areas. The extent of the powers transferred varied from province to province, but the following quotation from the report of the Hartog Committee will give an idea of the position as it was in 1927 :—

"In *Madras*, a separate *ad hoc* body, called a District Education Council, has been established for each district.

This body, which consists of a few nominees of the Governor-in-Council and of a majority elected by school managements and by local bodies, recognises all elementary schools, assesses and distributes grants-in-aid to privately managed elementary schools, prepares schemes for the expansion and development of elementary education and advises the Education Department and local bodies on all matters connected with elementary education. All elementary schools are inspected by the officers of the Education Department.

In *Bombay,* each district board and each of the larger municipalities has a school board which is generally responsible for the control of primary education and for the management of local board schools. The school boards consist of members elected by the local bodies and of representatives of minorities, educational experts and women, together with a few nominees of Government. The school boards recognise and aid privately managed schools and maintain their own inspecting staff. All primary schools, however, are open to inspection by the officers of the Education Department.

In *Bengal,* all primary schools are recognised and inspected by the officers of the Education Department. Grant-in-aid to privately managed primary schools is distributed by district boards and municipalities from funds placed at their disposal by Government.

In the *United Provinces,* education committees of local bodies are responsible for the maintenance, recognition and aid of all primary schools. The inspecting staff of the Education Department inspects all primary schools, but the subordinate inspecting officers of the Department are subject to the general control of the chairmen of the education committees.

In the *Punjab,* the local bodies maintain, or recognise and aid, all primary schools, but all schools are inspected by the departmental officers.....

In *Bihar and Orissa,* education committees of local bodies maintain and manage all public schools and distribute grant-in-aid to privately managed schools. The recognition and inspection of all schools are vested in the departmental officers.

In the *Central Provinces,* the control of boys' primary education is in the hands of local bodies, but Government has retained responsibility for the primary education of girls. All schools are inspected by the departmental officers but in four

districts the Deputy Inspectors of Schools have been transferred to the service of the local bodies as an experimental measure.

In *Assam*, all schools are recognised and inspected by the departmental officers. Grant-in-aid to privately managed schools is given by the local bodies in the plains, but by Government in the hills.

In two provinces, the United Provinces and Burma, there is a Board of Vernacular Education which advises Government on all matters connected with vernacular education."[1]

(*ii*) All the Acts make it a duty of the local authorities to study the needs of their areas and to prepare schemes for the expansion and development of primary education within their jurisdiction.

(*iii*) In all the Acts, the initiative in the matter of introducing compulsion is left with the local authorities; and in some Acts, as in Bombay, power is reserved to Government in certain circumstances, to take the initiative in introducing and enforcing compulsory education.

(*iv*) In all provinces, the local authorities are given the power to levy an educational cess in order to meet their own share of the cost of providing primary education, whether on a compulsory or on a voluntary basis.

(*v*) In all provinces, Government undertakes to assist the local authorities financially in order to enable them to introduce compulsory education.

(*vi*) The age of compulsion for elementary education varies from province to province. In provinces with a four years' course, it is generally fixed at 6 to 10 except in the Punjab where the optional age-period of 7 to 11 is also provided; on the other hand, in provinces with a five years' course, the age of compulsion is generally fixed at 6 to 11.

[1] Pages 33-4.

(*vii*) The Acts make provision for prosecuting parents for failure to send their children to school, and all Acts, except that of Madras, penalise the employment of children within the age-period of compulsion in areas where compulsory education is enforced.

The above analysis will show that the view taken in most of the provinces was that primary education is a subject of local administration and responsibility. It was in pursuance of this view only that Provincial Governments liberalised the constitution of local self-government institutions, gave them additional powers of taxation, and made them responsible for the introduction and enforcement of compulsory primary education. This devolution of authority in primary education to local self-government institutions is the second forward step in the development of such institutions—the first having been initiated by Lord Ripon—and forms the most important characteristic of the period under review.

3. **Provincial Programmes of Expansion**. Equally interesting are the several schemes of expansion drawn up by Provincial Governments during this period, some of which are described below.

Madras.—In May 1923, the Government of Madras convened a conference to discuss the expansion and improvement of primary education. As a result of the recommendations of this Conference, Government carried out, during 1924-25, a survey of all the population centres in the Province where an elementary school ought to exist. Maps and consolidated registers of statistics were accordingly prepared for each taluk and the survey records were completed and published in 1925. The work is a monumental achievement and deserves to be copied by all Provincial Governments in

India. A definite programme of expansion was also drawn up and a beginning was made with a view to providing a school in all school-less population centres with 500 or more persons. It was also decided to give liberal encouragement to private schools and to start departmental schools only in such areas where a private school was not likely to be established.

Bengal.—The schemes of expansion drawn up in Bengal were mainly three: the Panchayat Union Scheme, the Biss Scheme, and the District School Boards' Scheme.

A Panchayat Union is a local body constituted under the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885, and has usually a group of villages under its jurisdiction. The plan was to establish at least one cheap school for each Panchayat Union, the cost of the building (about Rs. 1,000) being entirely borne by Government. The maintenance of the school was mainly the duty of the Panchayat.

The second scheme is known as the "Biss Scheme" after its author, Evan E. Biss, who was put on special duty in 1920 to draw up a scheme for the expansion and improvement of primary education in Bengal. Biss found that private schools clustered and competed where fees could be secured while the poorer and more backward areas went without schools. He, therefore, proposed the holding of an educational survey and the establishment of at least one school, public or private, in each centre of population within a radius of a mile and a half. If the population centre was a big one, Biss recommended the establishment of a set of schools whose work would be properly co-ordinated. He also suggested that the cost of such schools should be borne by Government and the Union or Municipality

concerned on a fifty-fifty basis—the local bodies having the option of levying an educational cess under the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919 to meet their own share of the cost.

The third scheme was the most ambitious of all, and was embodied later in the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act of 1930. The Act proposed the constitution of a School Board in each district consisting of a few officials and a majority of non-officials. The main duty of this body was to survey the educational needs of the district concerned and to adopt a definite programme of expansion and improvement. With this end in view, the Act gave the School Boards authority to introduce compulsory education and to finance it with the help of an educational cess and the grants which Government undertook to pay.

Bombay.—The Government of Bombay appointed, in 1921, a special committee under the Chairmanship of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar to enquire into the desirability and practicability of introducing universal, compulsory, and free elementary education in the Province. The main recommendations of the Committee may be summarised as under:—

(*i*) Compulsion should be introduced for boys only in the first instance and the education of girls should be developed on a voluntary basis. An exception to this rule may, perhaps, be made in the case of city municipalities where compulsory education may be introduced forthwith for boys and girls.

(*ii*) An educational survey of each district should be carried out.

(*iii*) Schools should be opened in one-tenth of the school-less villages every year, thus completing a programme of the adequate provision of schools in ten years.

(*iv*) Compulsion should first be introduced in towns and then extended to villages. In school-less villages, compulsion

may be introduced three years after a school has been opened therein in accordance with the recommendation (*iii*) above.

The Committee expected that its programme of expansion would double the number of pupils under instruction within ten years. It also calculated that the total cost of the programme would be Rs. 110 lakhs of which Government would have to bear Rs. 77 lakhs, the rest being paid by the local bodies.

Bihar and Orissa.—In 1925, the Government of Bihar and Orissa convened a conference of local authorities to consider programmes of expansion. The object of these programmes was to provide elementary education for 80 per cent of the boys of school-going age. Separate orders were passed on each individual programme but an idea about their general outline can be had from the following principles which came to be ultimately adopted by Government :—

(*i*) Each district board was required to maintain up-to-date maps showing all information of educational interest.

(*ii*) Government accepted a ratio of 20 boys to one teacher in sparsely populated districts and 25 boys to one teacher in thickly populated districts.

(*iii*) Government also accepted as a cardinal feature of its policy the provision of two teachers in every lower primary school.

(*iv*) If sufficient numbers offered themselves, denominational schools were to be opened.

(*v*) Special schools were to be opened for depressed classes wherever possible, and their progress was to be reported every three years.

(*vi*) Government did not agree to any further extension of free education, except where boards were prepared to meet the cost from their own resources.

(*vii*) Government thought that time was not yet ripe for a universal scheme of compulsion in rural areas, but was prepared to consider individual cases for application of compulsion in limited rural areas.

Punjab.—The schemes of expansion in the Punjab deserve special notice. In the following interesting passage, the Director of Public Instruction of that Province explains the underlying principles of these schemes :—

"The main principles which have guided the educational policy are those of expansion, economy, efficiency and equality. The mere fact that, four years ago, only 2.7 per cent (instead of the required 15 per cent) of the total population was receiving instruction, has demanded a speedy *expansion.* The very urgency of the expansion, allied with the serious financial shortage, has demanded the exercise of drastic *economy* so that every rupee saved should be made available to the much needed expansion. The depressing statistics showing that a very large proportion of the pupils have been congregated in the lowest class and thus rarely reach even the fringe of literacy, have demanded a large measure of *efficiency.* The alarming backwardness of several areas and communities have demanded a nearer approach to the *equality* in the advance that is being made."[1]

The second point of interest in the Punjab system is the unit of the area selected for compulsion. The plan of the Government was to start board schools first and to see to what extent the people availed themselves of them on a voluntary basis. If a school had accommodation, teachers, etc., for 100 boys, and if only 40 or 50 boys attended that school voluntarily, Government considered this to be a fit case to introduce compulsion *in the area served by the school.* This principle was described as *the doctrine of filling in the vacant places* and according to it, compulsion became "an economy, and not a luxury which must wait for better times."[2]

The third feature of interest in the Punjab Scheme was its system of grants to the local boards. The

[1] *D.P.I.'s Report for* 1924-25, p. 1.
[2] *D.P.I.'s Report for* 1925-26, p. 13.

Punjab Government *graded* the boards according to their economic capacities—the grade of each board being defined as the percentage of the additional expenditure that Government undertook to pay. These grades varied from 60 to 100. The grants given to the boards in 1918 were considered as *basic grants* and were continued in full; and in addition to the basic grants, Government agreed to pay to each board a percentage of its *additional* expenditure equal to its grade. This system admits of the payment of a larger grant to a poorer and more backward district and is vastly superior to the alternative system of paying a flat rate of grant to all the district boards in the province.

United Provinces.—In order to encourage the local boards to expand primary education, the Government of the United Provinces introduced an interesting scheme of grants which is known popularly as the *contract scheme.* The Director of the Province describes it in the following words:—

"(1) Government prescribes for each board the minimum amount which it is bound to provide in its budget under each of the following five heads, viz., (*a*) vernacular middle schools; (*b*) ordinary primary classes, including training classes; (*c*) Islamia schools and maktabs; (*d*) depressed class education; and (*e*) female education.

(2) Towards the total expenditure by the boards under these heads, Government gives a lump general grant.

(3) Each board has, therefore, to provide in its budget an amount under each head not less than the minimum prescribed for that head. The difference between the amount provided in the budget and the amount actually expended is required to be credited to an education fund for each head; this fund can be used only for new buildings, equipment and similar non-recurring items of expenditure under the head for which the savings have accrued.

(4) A board may not transfer, from the minimum prescribed expenditure, funds between the five heads specified, but may from funds at its disposal increase the provision under any of these heads, provided that it does not reduce the expenditure under any head below this prescribed minimum.

(5) If a board decides in any year to increase its recurring expenditure under any head over the prescribed minimum, it does so on the clear understanding that the board is committed to the increased recurring expenditure in future years, and that the minimum prescribed under that head will consequently be reckoned at the increased figure."[1]

There is no need to pursue the subject further. The above outlines of some of the provincial schemes will show all the salient features of the manner in which the solution of the problem of universal primary education was attempted; and students of the documents of this period will admit that the experiment of the expansion of primary education was begun well and in right earnest by the Indian Ministers.

4. **Achievements of the Period 1922-27.** As may be easily anticipated, therefore, the expansion of primary education was very rapid in the quinquennium 1922-27. The following statistics tell their own tale:—

TABLE I

General Results

	1921-22	1926-27
1. Number of Primary Schools ...	1,55,017	1,84,829
2. Number of Pupils in Primary Schools ...	61,09,752	80,17,923
3. Expenditure on Primary Education (direct) ...	4,94,69,080	6,75,14,802

[1] *D.P.I.'s Report*, 1922-27, page 65.

TABLE II

Areas under Compulsion

Province	Municipalities and Urban Areas	District Boards and Rural Areas
Madras ...	21	3
Bombay ...	6	...
United Provinces ...	25	...
Punjab ...	57	1,499
Bihar and Orissa ...	1	3
Central Provinces ...	3	66
Delhi ...	1	...
Total ...	114	1,571

N.B.—The rural areas in the Punjab are the areas served by individual schools.

Commenting on these results, the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1922-27, observes :—

"The causes for this accelerated expansion are not far to seek. Economic conditions have improved, the finances of the provinces have expanded, post-war difficulties have largely disappeared, public interest has been directed towards primary and mass education, programmes of educational expansion have been undertaken both under and outside of the Elementary Education Acts in the various provinces, a large number of new schools have been opened, unrecognised schools have been recognised, and the number of areas in which compulsion has been introduced has increased."[1]

5. **The Report of the Hartog Committee.** The next quinquennium, however, witnessed a slackening of the pace of expansion due mainly to two causes: the first was the economic depression to which we have already referred. This led to the abandonment of most of the schemes of expansion and even necessitated large cuts in existing expenditure. The second cause of the slack-

[1] Pages 115-16.

ening was the recommendation of the Hartog Committee to the effect that Government should adopt a policy of consolidation rather than of expansion,—a recommendation that came generally to dominate official view-point during the decade 1927-37. As the subject is of great importance, we propose to examine at some length the main findings and recommendations of the Committee on the subject of mass education.

It is interesting to note that the Committee decided to give special attention to the problem of primary education, because its condition was far from satisfactory, "due in part to the fact that while much attention has been paid in the past to a consideration of the higher forms of education, the problems of primary education have been comparatively neglected."[1] It is strange that this observation should have been made successively by the Despatch of 1854, the reviews of education held by Government of India between 1866-70, the Indian Education Commission, 1882, the Resolution of Government on Educational Policy dated 11th March, 1904, and then again by the Hartog Committee! This can only mean that in spite of all the discussions and schemes for expanding primary education during the last hundred years or so, the problem had not yet been squarely and fully faced.

To begin with, the Committee pointed out that there were *special difficulties in the path of the progress of primary education* such as the following:—

(*i*) Primary education in India is essentially a *rural problem* as 87 per cent of the population lives in villages. As the Committee observe:—

"Primary education in towns is comparatively easy to provide, organize and make efficient. Schools and staffs are larger, good

[1] *Report*, pages 3-4.

teachers are easier to secure, and adequate supervision and inspection can be more easily provided. It is less difficult to cater for the needs of particular communities or classes. On the other hand, sites and proper 'elbow room' for schools cost more.

In rural areas school units are usually small; adequate staffing is more expensive; the conditions of life are not attractive to teachers unless they are specially selected and trained; women teachers cannot, as a rule, live in villages unless circumstances are exceptionally favourable; the teachers are isolated and the difficulties of administration, supervision and inspection are much greater; and it is more difficult to secure regular and prolonged attendance of children."[1]

(*ii*) Poverty, illiteracy, and conservatism of the average parent which make him slow to appreciate the advantages of education, unwilling to send his children to a school or to keep them there for a sufficiently long period, and unable to make the financial sacrifices which are necessary to secure good education;

(*iii*) Low density of population coupled very often with scantiness of the means of communication, physical obstacles as in hilly areas or deltas, and unfavourable climatic conditions;

(*iv*) Existence of large tracts of backward areas;

(*v*) Irregularity of attendance due to causes mentioned in (*ii*) above and also to epidemic and seasonal illness; and

(*vi*) Difficulties created by barriers of caste, and by religious, communal and linguistic differences. As the Committee observe:—

"The problem of effective school provision is complicated by the barriers of caste, by religious, communal and linguistic difficulties. Such complications are by no means unknown in other countries, but in many parts of India they are peculiarly acute, and they impede the construction of a system of mass primary education which on grounds of social solidarity

[1] Page 37.

as well as on grounds of economy and efficiency is now generally regarded as the best type of public system,—a system under which the children of all sections of the population sit together in the same school and enjoy equal opportunities of education. The existence of millions of persons who are regarded by the majority of the population as untouchable and who in some places cannot even use all the public roads and wells creates an educational problem which it would be difficult to parallel elsewhere. In Madras, for example, large numbers of schools are situated in areas in which the Hindu social system does not permit a depressed class pupil to enter.

We refer later to the complications caused by communal and religious differences and the extent to which through insistence on segregate schools they are responsible for the provision of an uneconomic multiplicity of school units, and for the persistence of many unrecognised institutions which stand outside the public system.

The linguistic difficulty also, even where it does not arise out of communal differences and the affection of communities for their classical language, is in India serious. Most provinces are divided into a number of linguistic areas, sub-divided into bilingual and multi-lingual districts. In the Agency and Hill Tracts there are innumerable language groups and tribal languages."[1]

The Committee then drew attention to the rapid growth in the number of primary schools and the pupils attending them, but came to the conclusion that the position was not as rosy as the figures would lead one to infer. The Committee found *that there was a good deal of waste in the system* which acted as a set-off against the progress in numbers. In the opinion of the Committee, the following were the main causes of this waste :—

(*i*) *Wastage and stagnation.*—The Committee found that there was a considerable diminution in enrolment from class to class in primary schools. Taking British India as a whole, the Committee calculated that there

[1] Pages 39-40.

were 5,33,878 pupils in Class I in 1922-23, 1,61,228 in Class II in 1923-24, 86,846 pupils in Class III in 1924-25, 55,794 pupils in Class IV in 1925-26, and 33,588 pupils only in Class V in 1926-27. In other words, out of every 100 children reading in Class I in 1922-23, only 18 reached Class V in 1926-27! On this issue, the Committee observed:—

> "The diminution is mainly due to two causes, which we shall term 'wastage' and 'stagnation'. By 'wastage', in what follows, we mean the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the primary course. There is of course a diminution in numbers from class to class due to natural causes, such as death and illness, but the mortality figures show that such diminution must be small compared to the total diminution. By 'stagnation' we mean the retention in a lower class of a child for a period of more than one year. Such stagnation obviously leads to the disproportionate size of the lower as compared with the higher classes. The figures taken by themselves do not indicate how far the excessive diminution in numbers from class to class is due to 'wastage' and how far it is due to 'stagnation', but our enquiries show that by far the more potent factor is 'wastage'.
>
> In interpreting the figures it is true that some allowance must be made for special circumstances. A period of rapid expansion naturally results in an abnormal enlargement of Class I, and as a consequence, a temporary disproportion between the numbers in Class I and those in the higher classes. Again, in many provinces a certain number of new admissions are usually made towards the end of the school year with the result that the new recruits, while swelling the enrolment of Class I, cannot hope to obtain promotion till after the completion of the following year. But even when we make all possible allowance and discount the figures liberally, the hard facts of wastage and stagnation are shocking."[1]

(*ii*) *Relapse into illiteracy.*—"The losses due to wastage," say the Committee,

[1] Pages 47-8.

"prevent all but a few pupils from becoming literate, but even of these few it is not possible to say with any confidence that many will not rapidly relapse into illiteracy. It is impossible to give figures for such relapse but there is every indication that they are large. It is difficult to correlate at all satisfactorily the census figures for literacy with the figures for school attendance. But the fact that the number of literates in the age group 10-15 in the census of 1921 was approximately only half the number of pupils in the age group five to ten at school five years previously indicates not only waste but a rapid relapse into illiteracy.

The explanation of such relapse is simple. Retention of initial literacy acquired at the early age of ten or eleven depends largely on environment, and the environment of the great majority of Indian pupils who leave school at the primary stage is not conducive to such retention. The parents in the village home are usually illiterate, they are too poor to buy books, and attractive vernacular literature and periodicals suitable for children are not available, though there are vernacular books which might be read by children under religious impulse."[1]

(*iii*) *Absence of systematic efforts at adult education.*—Only sporadic attempts were made on a small scale to encourage night schools, classes for women, lantern lectures, village libraries, etc., but very little had been attempted on a systematic basis.

(*iv*) *Inadequate provision of elementary schools.*—The Committee observe:—

"The problem of school provision divides itself roughly into two: (*a*) provision for the smaller villages with a population of under 500, which number over 364,000 and (*b*) provision for the larger villages with a population of over 500, and for the towns which together number about 136,000. According to the census of 1921, 71.8 per cent of the population live in the larger villages (as defined above) and the towns. The only provinces in which more than 30 per cent live in smaller villages are the United Provinces (35 per cent), Bihar (36.5 per cent), the Central Provinces (40 per cent) and Assam (55

[1] Pages 48-9.

per cent). The problem of school provision in the smaller villages is very difficult. It may be solved to some extent by the rapid growth of motor traffic and by the establishment of branch schools; but much remains to be done.

On the other hand, there is every reason to believe, that the vast majority of the 136,000 towns and larger villages are already provided with primary school-units for boys, of which the total number is over 162,000. In Madras, 80 per cent of the villages with a population of 500-1000, and 93 per cent of the villages with a population of 1000-2000 have schools. The provision is most liberal in Madras, Bengal and Bihar; in the Central Provinces, United Provinces and Burma, it is least.

It is true that the existence of a school-unit does not imply that there is sufficient school accommodation; and though many of the existing schools are not yet fully utilised, the increase in the number of pupils who would attend under a universal compulsory system would demand a very large increase in the total accommodation. It is also true that a better distribution of schools is needed."[1]

(*v*) *Unsatisfactory distribution of schools.*—The Committee found that in almost all the provinces, schools were distributed in an unsatisfactory manner so that "there were large areas without a school, while in others were many little schools indulging in cut-throat competition for the children."

(*vi*) *Inadequate utilisation of existing schools.*—"There is also a great deal of waste of money and effort", write the Committee,

"owing to the small enrolment of many schools. There are very large numbers of boys who live within easy reach of a school and yet do not attend it; while, as we have seen, there are also large numbers who come for a few months or for a year or two and then leave, before they have had any opportunity to become literate. It is in those provinces which have the largest number of schools that the average enrolment is smallest."[2]

[1] Pages 52-3.
[2] Page 57.

(*vii*) *Single-teacher schools.*—The Committee found that about 60 per cent of the primary schools in British India were single-teacher schools—the figures varying from 15.7 per cent in the Central Provinces to 76 per cent in Bengal. "On this matter," observe the Committee,

> "we have consulted a number of experienced witnesses. It may be that, in favourable circumstances, with a good teacher trained in methods of plural class teaching, a school of this type serves a useful purpose, but we cannot think that there is much promise of effective progress in a system which depends so predominantly on schools of this type. A teacher who is untrained and of meagre qualifications and who can obtain little or no assistance from the inspecting staff, cannot be expected single-handed to teach several classes with a large number of pupils, very unequally distributed among these classes."[1]

(*viii*) *Ephemeral character* of many primary schools.

(*ix*) The existence of a large number of *three-class single-teacher schools* was also responsible for waste because the pupils in these schools could not be expected to attain literacy or to retain it.

(*x*) *Unsuitable curriculum.*—The Committee agreed with the Royal Commission on Agriculture which pointed out that "education in rural areas should bear a close relationship to the daily lives of the people" and that it was "essential to the happiness and efficiency of children in the villages that their upbringing should be in harmony with their environment," and observed:

> "Much criticism has been levelled against the curricula adopted in the primary schools. A curriculum unrelated to the conditions of the village life results in a divorce between the interests of the school and the interests of the home and in the stiffening of the belief among the rural population that little benefit is to be obtained from the sacrifice involved in sending their children to school. Modifications in the curri-

[1] Pages 61-2.

cula are doubtless required so that the pupils shall read about things which are familiar to them and shall calculate the value of those articles which are in common use in the life of the village."[1]

(*xi*) *Ineffective teaching.*—The Committee found that only 44 per cent of the primary teachers in primary schools for boys were trained—the percentage varying from 25 in Bengal to 66 in the United Provinces; that the average monthly salary of teachers varied from Rs. 8-6-0 in Bengal to Rs. 47-0-0 in Bombay; that the training given to primary teachers was both inadequate and unsatisfactory, and that its results were not always happy on account of the low general education of the persons recruited for training. The Committee, therefore, opined that these causes seriously reduced the efficiency of teaching and the effectiveness of primary education.

(*xii*) *Inadequacy of the inspecting staff.*—The Committee found that the average number of schools to be supervised by each inspecting officer varied from 61 in the Central Provinces to 177 in Bengal, and observed:—

"Rules and regulations prescribe the number of visits (two or three) which should be paid to each primary school during the year. In many cases, it is physically impossible (even if his travelling allotments are sufficient) for an inspector to complete his duties, especially in those areas, such as Assam or Bengal, where seasonal conditions make rapid travelling impossible. For example, a sub-inspector in Assam is asked to inspect 148 schools situated in hill tracts three times a year, a total of 444 visits in 365 days.[2] When the distance to be covered, the difficulties of travelling and the not infrequent insufficiency of allotments for travelling expenses, are taken into account, it is difficult to believe that the staff is

[1] Page 63.

[2] It may be noted that on an average primary schools work for 210 days only in a year.

sufficient even for the performance of the minimum routine duties of an inspector."[1]

The Committee then turned to the examination of the experiment of *compulsory education* that was being tried in certain areas. Here also, the Committee found that the position was far from satisfactory. In their opinion the Compulsory Education Acts contained technical flaws; the officials lacked experience; local authorities showed no interest in the experiment and did not avail themselves of the power to prosecute; and there were delays in the conviction of defaulters.

Secondly, the Committee strongly objected to the provision in the several Compulsory Education Acts which left the initiative in introducing compulsion entirely to the local authorities. They observed:—

"Experience in Bengal, however, and to a lesser extent in other provinces, shows that local option may result in almost complete inaction on the part of local bodies for a considerable period of time to come. It seems clear that a mere enabling statute will not provide any guarantee for the speedy and widespread application of compulsion.

In our opinion, the responsibility for mass education rests primarily with the State; and the provision of educational facilities for all classes of the community and for all areas should not be left entirely to the mercy of local authorities who may be unwilling, either for political or other reasons, to initiate schemes by which compulsion may be financed, or who, owing to the backwardness of the area of the people, may be unable to devise suitable measures for compulsion on their own initiative. Accompanied by necessary safeguards, the power to enforce compulsion should provide local Governments with the very necessary authority to supervise the expansion of mass education in the provinces in such a way that all areas and all classes of the community may benefit by the increased expenditure of public funds."[2]

[1] Pages 69-70.
[2] Pages 86-7.

6. Recommendations of the Hartog Committee. The foregoing discussion has already indicated the lines on which the main recommendations of the Committee were based. These may be briefly summarised as under:—

(*i*) A policy of consolidation should be adopted in preference to one of diffusion.

(*ii*) The minimum duration of the primary course should be of four years.

(*iii*) The standard of the general education of primary teachers should be raised; the training course should be sufficiently long; the training instituitons for primary teachers should be adequately staffed and made more efficient; refresher courses and conferences of primary teachers must be frequently arranged; and the remuneration and conditions of service of primary teachers should be such as will enable the profession to attract and retain men of good quality.

(*iv*) The curriculum of primary schools should be liberalised. "We, therefore, feel strongly," wrote the Committee,

> "that the aim of every village school should include, not merely the attainment of literacy but the larger objective, namely, the raising of the standard of village life in all its aspects. A well-attended school directly related to the surrounding conditions can do much towards training the younger generation in ways of hygiene, physical culture, improved sanitation, thrift and self-reliance. The school itself can also, as notable examples have proved, claim a leading and respected place in the village community by directly assisting, in however simple a manner, in the provision of simple medical relief, adult instruction, vernacular literature, and attractive recreation."[1]

(*v*) School hours and school holidays should be adjusted to seasonal and local requirements.

(*vi*) Special attention should be given to the lowest class in primary schools and determined efforts should

[1] Page 78.

be made to reduce the large extent of stagnation and wastage that prevail therein.

(*vii*) Rural uplift work should be undertaken and centred in the school.

(*viii*) The devolution of authority in primary education to local bodies has been excessive. Primary education is a subject of national importance and hence it is the duty of Government to assume necessary powers of control and improve the efficiency of administration.

(*ix*) The inspecting staff of Government should be considerably strengthened.

(*x*) No hasty attempts should be made to introduce compulsion but attention should be directed to a careful preparation of the ground. As the Committee observed:

> "We have been much struck by the feeling expressed in many places that the immediate panacea for all the defects which now darken the picture of primary education is to be found in compulsion. Although we regard compulsion as essential to the ultimate success of any scheme of mass education, we realise that the immediate and widespread application of compulsion would present serious, and in some places almost insuperable financial difficulties, and that a sound system of national vernacular education can only be developed upon lines which permit the consolidation of one position before another position is attacked. In many places a drastic reorganization of the elementary system should precede any wide application of compulsion; for an impetuous and ill-considered application of the principle would inevitably result in much unprofitable expenditure of money and even in an accentuation of many of the present evils. To compel children to attend or stay in ineffective, ill-equipped and badly staffed schools, such as are found at present in large numbers in many provinces, can only result in a serious addition to the existing waste. . . . In the Punjab . . . the policy is not to attempt to apply compulsion throughout a large area, but rather to build up strong vernacular schools in rural areas and then gradually to extend the sphere of compulsion from one village to another

as soon as each single school area appears to be ripe for compulsion. It is probable that the employment of such methods is conducive to the rapid and equitable application of compulsion. In every province, to a greater or lesser extent, there must be already a large number of schools which are well-attended and in which, with some addition to the staff and possibly to the buildings, compulsion might be applied immediately and economically."[1]

7. **Criticism of the Hartog Committee's Report: The Official View.** This report was warmly received in official circles and came to dominate official thought throughout the period under review. A study of the reports of the provincial Directors of Public Instruction of this period shows a general uniformity of ideas; such defects as the prevalence of wastage and stagnation, extreme devolution of authority to local bodies, inadequacy of the inspecting staff, are found to be frequently emphasized. The official view was still predominantly in favour of the policy of consolidation which had been laid down by the Government Resolution of 1913. Out of deference to the strong public opinion, it had temporarily accepted the policy of expansion which thus held the field in the quinquennium 1922-27. The Report of the Hartog Committee, however, came as a triumph to the official view; for it attempted to show that a policy of expansion had proved ineffective and wasteful and that a policy of consolidation alone was suited to Indian conditions.

A brief survey of the provincial policies of this period will be found very interesting. For instance, there was a protest from many quarters 'against a reckless and impetuous multiplication of primary schools'.[2] The Central Provinces report for 1927-32 takes consolation

[1] Pages 87-8.
[2] *Progress of Education in India,* 1927-32, page 4.

in the thought that 'inefficient schools have been removed from the struggle....several schools with comparatively small enrolment have been closed."[1] The Bihar and Orissa report for 1927-32 states that in the earlier years of the quinquennium, "many boards and individuals opened schools more rapidly than was prudent"[2] and adds that the effects of retrenchment were *salutary* as it led to the disappearance of unaided institutions. In Bombay, the primary schools increased by a *meagre* 797 in five years (1927-32)—an event on which the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India felt called upon to observe that it was doubtful "whether, with its depleted finances, this province can afford to multiply its primary schools at so *rapid* a pace, especially when *other aspects of education need prior attention.*"[3] In Madras, the number of primary schools decreased from 46,389 in 1927 to 41,141, in 1937 and the Director observed that "the policy of expansion which was in full swing between 1920 and 1930, countenanced the establishment of a large number of inefficient, uneconomic and superfluous schools which proved worse than useless. This policy of expansion has led to the recent reaction in favour of concentration and elimination, which is partly responsible for the reduction in the number of elementary schools."[4] We need not multiply instances. Those given above will show how the report of the Hartog Committee came to dominate the official view-point during this period.

8. **Criticism of the Hartog Committee's Report: The Non-Official View.** On the other hand, the non-official view, in general, gave a cold and hostile reception

[1] Page 42.
[2] Page 51.
[3] *Progress of Education in India*, 1927-32, p. 128 (Italics ours).
[4] *Report for* 1932-37, page 86.

to the Hartog Committee's Report. The main points in this criticism may be summarised as under :—

(*i*) The non-official opinion was generally in favour of expansion, and a very rapid expansion at that. It was pointed out that the rate of expansion of mass literacy in India was extremely slow; that the percentage of literacy had increased from 3.5 in 1881 to only 8.0 in 1931—an increase of less than one per cent in every decade; that the rate of increase of literacy had not kept pace with the growth of population—which increased at one per cent every year; that the increase in the number of illiterates was far greater than the increase in the number of literates; that 'education must pour and not trickle'; and that unless a definite programme for the liquidation of illiteracy was drawn up and carried out, the question of mass education in India would never be solved. As Mr. R. V. Parulekar observes :—

> "Not only the example of other countries but their educational history also shows that rapid expansion must precede all other educational reforms. India has never realised the greatest truth in mass education that slow progress is no progress at all. 'Education can be so gradual as to allow the educated few to be absorbed afresh by the inertia and habits of the uninstructed mass. Education produces its best effect not when it trickles slowly but when it is rapidly universalised.' The great truth can be illustrated easily. If we want to root out weeds from a big field so as to make it cultivable, we cannot achieve our object by uprooting a weed here or a weed there each day. By the time we proceed a little, the small spots cleared will have a fresh crop of weeds and this process will be almost endless. There is another reason which demands rapid expansion. It has been shown that in India nearly 75 per cent of the new literates produced by schools are not directly reflected in the percentage of literacy because of the high birth and death rate. Gaps rapidly created must

be filled up with greater rapidity. Otherwise, progress is bound to be slow or at a standstill as at present."[1]

(*ii*) Secondly, non-official view did not accept the opinion of the Committee that *quality* must have prior claim over *quantity*. Whatever the merits of this view in the field of secondary or university education, it was urged that in a country like India with 92 per cent of its population still illiterate, the first objective of Government policy should be to banish illiteracy from the land ; and that the quality of education was a matter that should come *after* illiteracy had been liquidated.

(*iii*) Thirdly, the validity of several of the conclusions drawn by the Committee was keenly contested. For instance, it was pointed out that the extent of wastage was greatly exaggerated by the Committee and that the method adopted by it for the evaluation of wastage was statistically defective ;[2] that the conclusion of the Committee that a large percentage of the pupils who attain literacy in schools lapse into illiteracy at a later date is logically inaccurate ;[3] that the average salary of

[1] *Literacy in India* by R. V. Parulekar, pp. 110-11.

[2] For a detailed study of the problem of wastage and stagnation attention is invited to the *Report on Stagnation and Wastage in Primary Schools*, prepared by the Provincial Board of Primary Education, Bombay Province, Poona, and published by the Government of Bombay.

[3] The Committee observed that "the fact that the number of literates in the age group of 10-15 in the census of 1921 was approximately only half the number of pupils in the age group 5-10 five years previously indicates not only waste but a rapid relapse into illiteracy"—*p.* 49 *of the Report*.

It will be seen that the total reduction amounts to 50 per cent and is due to causes such as—

(*i*) Deaths ;

(*ii*) Wastage, i.e., the pupils failing to attain literacy, in which case the question of lapse into illiteracy does not arise at all ; and

(*iii*) Relapse into illiteracy.

Death rate in India is known to be very high ; wastage was estimated by the Committee itself at about 82 per cent and relapse into illiteracy was said to be 'considerable' and 'rapid'. The conclusions are, to say the least, absurd.

primary teachers in Bombay was never Rs. 47 per mensem, etc.

These criticisms which are but a few among those that were actually offered show how the gulf between official and non-official views had widened during the period under review. In 1937, therefore, India stood almost at the parting of ways. It had to make its choice between these two views and accept either a policy of rapid expansion involving, if necessary, a loss of quality or one of a deliberate attempt to improve quality necessarily involving a curtailment of a programme of expansion.

9. **Achievements of the Period 1927-37.** The combined effect of the lead given by the Hartog Committee and of the financial stringency caused by the world economic depression was that primary education made comparatively little progress in the period between 1927 and 1937. Compare the following statistics :—

	1921-22	1926-27	1931-32	1936-37
1. No. of recognised Primary Schools ...	1,55,017	1,84,829	1,96,708	1,92,244
2. No. of pupils in above ...	61,09,752	80,17,923	91,62,450	1,02,24,288
3. Total direct expenditure on primary education ...	Rs. 4,94,69,080	Rs. 6,75,14,802	Rs. 7,87,95,236	Rs. 8,13,38,015

It will be seen that the increase of pupils under instruction in the ten years between 1927 and 1937 is only slightly more than that in the quinquennium 1922-27 ; the increase in the number of schools is only 7,415 while that in the preceding quinquennium was 29,812 ;

and the increase in expenditure is only about Rs. 138 lakhs, while that in the earlier quinquennium was about Rs. 181 lakhs. Even towards this small increase, Government contribution was smaller than that of the non-Government sources. Details of the total expenditure are not available; but the following statistics of the direct expenditure on primary schools for boys will throw light on the problem:—

Source	1921-22	1926-27	1936-37
	(In	lakhs of	Rupees)
Government ...	233	304	344
Non-Government:			
(a) Boards ...	71	110	138
(b) Municipalities ...	35	56	83
(c) Fees ...	45	49	45
(d) Other sources ...	37	56	66
Total ...	421	575	676

Similarly, we find that no serious attempts were made either to introduce compulsion extensively or to enforce it rigidly. The position of areas under compulsion in 1936-37 may be summarised as under:—

Province	Urban Areas	Rural Areas	No. of villages in Rural Areas under compulsion
Madras ...	27	7	104
Bombay ...	9	1	143
Bengal ...	1	...	...
United Provinces ...	36	25	1,224
Punjab ...	63	2,981	10,450
Bihar ...	1	1	1
Central Provinces and Berar ...	27	8	508
Sind ...	1	1	613
Orissa ...	1	1	14
Delhi ...	1	9	15
Total ...	167	3,034	13,072

The following special features of the situation may be noted:—

(*i*) Much greater progress has been made in urban areas than in rural ones. This is due to two causes; firstly, the conditions in urban areas are more favourable to the introduction of compulsion; and secondly, both Government and the local authorities are tempted to take up schemes in urban areas because the *additional* cost of compulsion in these areas is far less than that of introducing compulsion in rural ones.

(*ii*) Except in the Punjab, the progress of compulsion in rural areas has been extremely slow. Out of the five lakhs of villages in India, only about 13,072 villages have been brought under compulsion. Out of these, as many as 10,450 were in the Punjab alone. The problem of compulsion is mainly a rural problem and hardly any adequate attempt has yet been made to solve it.

(*iii*) Compulsion is needed more for girls than for boys; and yet more boys have been brought under compulsion than girls. In some provinces, e.g., the Punjab, compulsion can be applied only to boys; in other provinces, even though the law permits the application of compulsion to girls, most of the compulsory schemes were applicable only to boys.

(*iv*) The rate of extension of compulsion has been very slow. At the rate of progress seen in this period, it would take India nearly 500 years to introduce universal compulsion. In Bombay, for example, the Primary Education Act of 1923 contemplated the introduction of universal compulsion in ten years. But even in 1937, fourteen years after the passing of the Act, only 3 per cent of the population was brought under compulsion. (The City of Bombay which is not governed

by the above Act has been excluded in these calculations.)

(*v*) Even in the few areas where compulsion has been introduced, its enforcement was far from satisfactory. The enrolment of children was not appreciable, and generally only about 60 to 80 per cent of the total number of the children of school-going age were enrolled. The average attendance was low and hardly better than in schools where no compulsion existed. Wastage in compulsory areas was as bad as in non-compulsory ones. The local authorities were unwilling to prosecute defaulting parents and very few prosecutions were launched under the Compulsory Education Acts. To sum up, it may be said that compulsion was not enforced in a rigid manner and that it existed more or less on paper only.

The official attempts, therefore, were concentrated throughout the period on qualitative improvement. The success achieved in this direction was not, however, remarkable. There was some improvement in the training of teachers—the percentage of trained teachers rising from 44 in 1927 to 57 in 1937. There were also several changes in the curriculum of training institutions mainly with a view to enabling teachers to co-ordinate instruction with rural life and environment. In some provinces, an attempt was also made to recruit 'more suitable' candidates for training institutions.

This is all that can be said by way of achievements. The rest of the record is hardly one of success. Even at the end of the period, official reports still pointed out the very large prevalence of wastage and stagnation; hardly any attempt was made to provide reading rooms and libraries with a view to altering the environment that leads to lapse into illiteracy; the provision of the

inspecting staff was even more inadequate at the end of the period, because "the expansion of education, particularly that of girls, had out-distanced the provision of additional inspectors;"[1] the single-teacher schools still dominated the situation, as indeed they threaten to do to the end of time; and the salaries of primary teachers deteriorated in Bombay—where they were the highest—and did not improve in other provinces. All things considered, it may be concluded that the improvement in quality was not appreciable and was by no means an adequate compensation for the loss in quantity.

[1] *Progress of Education in India,* 1932-37, page 34.

Chapter XXIV

PROFESSIONAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(1822-1901)

The history of Professional and Vocational education in India can be divided into three periods: the first extends from 1822, when the Calcutta Native Medical Institution was established, to the incorporation of Universities in 1857; the second extends from 1857 to 1901, when Lord Curzon convened a conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla; and the third extends from 1901 to 1937, when Provincial Autonomy was introduced.

2. **Vocational Education between 1822 and 1857.** A few attempts at organizing vocational education were made during this period, the most important of which have been noted below.

Medical Education

(*a*) *Bengal.*—A Native Medical Institution was established at Calcutta in 1822. Medical classes were also attached to the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madressah in 1826. It would seem that these classes imparted instruction according to Hindu and Muslim systems of Medicine with some combination of European methods. In 1835, however, a controversy arose as to whether it would not be "expedient to confine the medical instruction to English lectures and to adopt for class books solely English treatises, discarding Sanskrit medical books altogether."[1] Dr. Tytler, who

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, p. 312.

was the Superintendent of the Medical Classes, was strongly opposed to the proposal; but the General Committee of Public Instruction was out for westernisation and proposed the starting of a new institution "in which the various branches of medical science cultivated in Europe should be taught......on the most approved European system."[1] The Committee's proposals were sanctioned by Government on 28th January, 1835. The Native Medical Institution and the medical classes in the Sanskrit College and Madressah were abolished; and the Calcutta Medical College was opened in June of the same year. In 1844, four Indian students of the College were sent to Europe to complete their medical education.

(b) *Madras.*—A medical school for the training of medical 'apprentices' (of European descent) and of 'Native Medical Pupils' was opened in Madras in 1835. The course of instruction included materia medica, elementary pharmacy, anatomy and physiology, surgery and practice of medicine. Instruction was given through English. In 1851, the institution was raised to the status of a College. In 1855, the Royal College of Surgeons of London gave recognition to the institution as "A Colonial School of Medicine and Surgery". A primary medical school for the purpose of coaching Indian students for admission to the college was opened in 1857.

(c) *Bombay.*—The idea of establishing a medical college at Bombay was first put forward by Sir Robert Grant, the then Governor of Bombay, in 1837. Unfortunately, Sir Robert died before the scheme materialised; but the public of Bombay collected a fund to commemorate Sir Robert's memory and in 1845 a medical college

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, p. 315.

called "The Grant Medical College" was established in Bombay. In 1854, the Royal College of Surgeons of England recognised the College as one of its "Affiliated Schools for Medical Instruction."

Engineering Education

(*a*) *Bengal.*—In 1844, the Council of Education, Calcutta, created a Chair of Civil Engineering, but it remained vacant as no professor was available. In 1854, the Council again proposed the establishment of a School of Engineering as a department of the Presidency College of Calcutta. At the same time the Superintending Engineer of Bengal advocated the establishment of an Engineering College "for the general improvement of the Department of Public Works." After a review of these and other schemes, the Court of Directors sanctioned the establishment of an Engineering College which was opened in Calcutta in 1856.

(*b*) *Bombay.*—As early as 1824, an Engineering class was organized by the Bombay Native Education Society, instruction in the class being imparted through the mother-tongue. In 1844, another Engineering class was opened in the Elphinstone Institution. This class failed to attract students in large numbers mainly because the salaries which Government offered to the students trained in the class were not sufficiently attractive. In 1854, an Engineering class and a mechanical school were opened at Poona for training subordinate officers of the Public Works Department.

(*c*) *Madras.*—There was no institution for imparting instruction in Civil Engineering in Madras prior to 1857. There was, however, a Survey School, under the Board of Revenue, established as early as 1793.

(*d*) *North-Western Provinces.*—The only institution of Civil Engineering in the North-Western Provinces prior to 1857 was the Thomason Engineering College, Roorki. The history of the establishment of this College is thus told by Ritchey:—

> "This institution was a direct product of irrigation and other engineering schemes undertaken by Government. In 1845, a small engineering class had been held at Saharanpur. In 1847, after the conclusion of the first Punjab War, the vigorous prosecution of the Ganges Canal was determined upon and at Roorkee large workshops, etc., were constructed. The Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. Thomason), perceiving the appropriateness of the time and place, proposed the establishment of a college to supply a staff of engineers. The scheme was sanctioned and in the same year (1847) Lieutenant Maclagan was appointed Principal of the College and a prospectus was formulated and published. In 1849 the institution was placed on a permanent footing and in 1853 a scheme for its enlargement and improvement was sanctioned. In 1853 Mr. Thomason died and in 1854 his name was permanently associated with the College."[1]

Legal Education

(*a*) *Bengal.*—Legal education in Bengal began very early. It may be recalled, for instance, that one of the objects of the Calcutta Madressah was to encourage the study of Mahomedan Law. Similarly, the Benares Sanskrit College aimed at the "preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus." In 1842, the appointment of a Professor of Law at the Hindu Vidyalaya was sanctioned. The first course of lectures was delivered by the Advocate-General, J. E. Lyall, on whose death the post remained vacant till 1846-47, when it was again re-established. The Despatch of 1854 emphasized the importance of the study of law[2]

[1] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, pp. 356-7.
[2] *Vide* para 30.

and consequently, a law class on a permanent footing was organized in 1855.

(*b*) *Madras.*—A Professorship of Law was sanctioned in 1855.

(*c*) *Bombay.*—In 1855, a Professorship of Jurisprudence was established on an endowment in honour of Sir E. Perry who was the President of the Bombay Board of Education for a considerable time. In 1856 two other professorships were sanctioned and a scheme of studies in law was also drawn up.

Other Institutions

Besides the institutions mentioned above, the following schools of vocational education were also in existence :—

(*i*) An industrial school for training ordnance artificers was opened in Madras in 1840 by Major Maitland. It was taken over by Government in 1855.

(*ii*) Dr. Hunter, the Surgeon of Black Town,[1] Madras, opened a School of Industrial Arts at Madras in 1850, and in the next year, he founded a School of Industry in order "to afford to the rising generation of the country the opportunity and means of acquiring useful handicrafts; to improve the manufacture of various articles of domestic and daily use, now largely made in the country, but rudely and uncouthly; and also by developing the latent resources of the country, to create a local supply of several articles in general demand, which hitherto have been almost entirely imported; to improve the taste of the native public and make them familiar with beauty of form and finish in the articles daily in their hands and before their eyes."

[1] Now called "George Town."

Both these institutions were amalgamated into one and taken over by Government in 1855.

(*iii*) In Bombay, Government opened the J. J. School of Art and Industry in 1856. The School was named after Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy Tata who gave a munificent donation to the institution.

3. **Vocational Education and Universities.** It will be seen from the foregoing account that, prior to 1857, the only serious attempts at vocational education were those in the field of Medicine, Civil Engineering, and Law, and that all these attempts had been motivated by a desire to train subordinate officers for the needs of public administration.

In 1857, the Universities were established with the faculties of Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering, in addition to those of Arts and Science; syllabuses of studies in these courses were drawn up; examinations were organized; and university degrees in these subjects were also instituted.

4. **Vocational Education between 1857 and 1901.** The sixty-five years between the establishment of Universities in 1857 and the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction held by Lord Curzon in 1901 form the second period in the history of Vocational education. The main events of this period may be conveniently narrated under the following heads:—

(*a*) Legal Education;
(*b*) Medical Education;
(*c*) Engineering Education;
(*d*) Agricultural Education;
(*e*) Veterinary Education;
(*f*) Forestry Education;
(*g*) Art Education;

(*h*) Commercial Education ; and

(*i*) Technical and Industrial Education.

5. **Legal Education**. The development of Legal education was fairly rapid during the period under review. This was mainly due to the establishment of the modern courts of justice which necessitated a large body of persons trained in Law both for the Bench as well as the Bar. Throughout the period under review, therefore, the legal profession was both popular and remunerative.

In 1901-02, the control of legal education was vested jointly in the hands of the Universities, the Education Departments, and the High Courts. The control of schools and colleges of law was in the hands of the Departments ; the Universities prescribed the courses for their examinations ; and the High Courts laid down the conditions on which a person could enter the legal profession. These conditions necessarily included a pass at a University examination, but the High Courts also held their own examinations for admission to the profession.

The institutions for legal instruction were of three types : colleges, law classes attached to arts or science colleges, and schools. In *Madras,* Government maintained a full-time law college and in the *Punjab* a similar institution was maintained by the University. These were the only law colleges in these provinces. In *Bombay,* the only institution for teaching the full course was the Government Law College at Bombay which was a *part-time* institution—lectures being held in the evening only. In *Bengal,* and the *Central* and *United Provinces,* there were no law colleges as such ; but arts and science colleges were allowed to have a law department (which usually meant one lecturer or

professor in law). In *Assam,* there were four law classes attached to high schools and these prepared candidates for the pleaders' examination.

The courses of legal study prescribed by the High Courts need not be considered here. In so far as university courses are concerned, in Allahabad, Calcutta and Madras, the course for the examination of the Bachelor of Laws extended over two years after graduation in Arts or Science. In Bombay, it extended over three years, but students had the option to take the first year's course concurrently with their B.A. any time after passing the first year examination in Arts. The Punjab course is thus described by the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education,* 1897-1902 :—

> "691. In the Punjab there is a three years' course for the diploma of Licentiate in Law, which may be taken after the Intermediate examination and may be pursued concurrently with the arts course. At the end of each year of the course the student must pass an examination, and he may not present himself for the final examination until he has graduated in arts. The course may be studied either in English or Urdu. Any person who has passed the Licentiate in Law examination, and has graduated in arts, may present himself for the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Laws. Candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Laws who have graduated in arts at the time of their admission to the Law College must attend the first and second year's Licentiate in Law courses and pass the first and second Licentiate in Law examinations. They are then admitted to the LL.B. class and after a year in that class may present themselves for the Bachelor of Laws examination. Candidates who are graduates at the time of passing the second Licentiate in Law examination may also be admitted to the LL.B. class."

The main problems of legal education in 1901-02 were two :—

(*i*) An opinion was growing up to the effect that the law classes attached to Arts and Science Colleges—it

may be pointed out that the Bombay college was not essentially different from these although it was designated a 'law college'—were not working satisfactorily. The students did not generally devote their whole attention to studies and attended the law classes mainly to get the certificate of attendance and appeared for the law examination at some future date. Very often there was a difficulty of getting specialised lectures and the one or two persons on the staff had to lecture on all the branches of law. It was, therefore, being urged that the part-time law colleges or law classes should be abolished and replaced by full-time law colleges as in Madras.

(*ii*) Opinion was also divided as to whether the university course in law should be of two or three years and whether it should or should not be deferred until after graduation in arts or science.

6. **Medical Education**. Regarding the objects of the Medical education of this period, the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, observes :—

> "Students are trained in medical colleges and schools chiefly for service in the hospitals and dispensaries of the Government and of local and municipal boards.... Some practise privately and others find work under the large employers of labour, such as steamer companies, tea planters, and the like."[1]

In 1901-02, there were four medical colleges in India —all conducted by Government—at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Lahore. The history of the first three colleges has been noted already. The college at Lahore was established in 1860 with the object of "providing education in Western medicine for the people of the Punjab." The remaining provinces of India had no

[1] Vol. I, p. 233.

medical colleges and hence granted scholarships to their students to enable them to study at one or the other of the above colleges.

An idea of the university courses in medicine may be had from the following table:—

University	Licentiate in Medicine	Bachelor of Medicine
Bombay	Five years after Matriculation	No course
Madras	Four years after First Year in Arts	Five years after First Year in Arts
Calcutta	Five years after First Year Arts	do.
Punjab	do.	Five years after graduation

Besides these colleges, there were a number of *medical schools.* These included 11 Government Schools (Madras 1, Bombay 3, Bengal 4, U.P. 1, Punjab 1, and Assam 1); one Municipal school in Madras, and 10 private schools (1 in Assam, 1 in Sind, 4 in the Punjab—which included two schools of Muslim and 1 of Hindu Medicine—and 4 in Bengal). Only four of these schools received grant-in-aid. These schools gave instruction in the less advanced courses of medicine such as those required for Apothecaries, Hospital Assistants, Sanitary Inspectors, etc.

Besides its degrees in general medicine, the Madras University also granted a degree of Licentiate in Sanitary Science to medical graduates who underwent a special course prescribed for the purpose.

In the early days of medical education in India, the medical courses did not become popular with the people owing to social and religious prejudices and it was often

very difficult to obtain an adequate number of students. But by 1901-02, this prejudice had considerably broken down in the case of men students, while that against women undertaking medical education still continued. In 1901-02, there were 1,466 students in medical colleges and 2,727 in medical schools. Of these, the women students were only 242—76 in colleges and 166 in schools. Of these, 62 were Europeans and Eurasians, 120 were Indian Christians, 8 Brahmins, 15 non-Brahmin Hindus, 15 Muslims and 22 Parsees.

7. **Engineering Education.** Like legal education, Engineering education also thrived during the period under review because there were considerable opportunities of employment to engineers trained in India in the Public Works Departments of Government, under local boards and municipalities which were organized in this period, in railway companies which greatly expanded their work, and in cotton and jute mills, steamer companies, etc., which came to be established during this period.

Regarding the object of organizing engineering education during this period, the following passage from the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1897-1902, will be found interesting:—

"739 The engineering colleges and schools are conducted with a general view to the recruitment of the several branches of the Public Works Department, and their arrangements cannot, therefore, be rightly understood without a general knowledge of the manner in which that department is organized and recruited. The Public Works Department is divided broadly into the Engineering Establishment, the Upper Subordinate Establishment, and the Lower Subordinate Establishment. The Engineer Establishment is divided into two services, Imperial and Provincial, the former recruited from the college at

Cooper's Hill and from the corps of Royal Engineers, and the latter recruited in India. The Provincial service draws its recruits from students of the Indian colleges who are statutory natives of India (whether of European or Indian descent), and from the Upper Subordinate Establishment. The pay and leave and pension rules of the two services are different, but in other respects there is no distinction between the members of the two divisions. The Upper Subordinate Establishment is recruited in India, and consists mainly of natives. Its members hold the chief posts on the engineering works and railways below the officers of the Superior or Engineering Service. They are divided into Overseers (3 grades), Supervisors (2 grades), and Sub-Engineers (3 grades).... The Lower Subordinate Establishment is composed entirely of natives, its members hold minor posts on the works and railways, and they are, in general, styled Sub-Overseers. . . . Any qualified person may be appointed a Sub-Overseer but recruits are mostly drawn from the engineering colleges and schools. Many employees on the Government railways, such as the Permanent Way Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors and the Locomotive Staff, do not belong to the regular graded establishment, and these posts are also in many cases filled by passed students of the engineering colleges and schools."

In 1901-02, there were four engineering colleges (with 865 students) in India—all conducted by Government—at Roorki, Sibpur (in Bengal), Poona and Madras. The history of the Thomason College at Roorki has been given already. The Sibpur College was established in 1880. The Poona College arose out of the Engineering Class and Mechanical School opened by Government in 1854. In 1901-02, the College had science, agriculture and forestry classes in addition to an engineering department and thus differed materially from the other engineering colleges. The Madras College arose, between 1858 and 1862, out of the Survey School which had been established in 1793.

One feature of the engineering colleges of this period

—which led to their popularity also—deserves special notice. Government guaranteed a certain number of posts in the Provincial and Upper Subordinate Services to students who stood high in the college examinations and consequently, there was a rush of students to these colleges. The arrangements are thus explained by the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902 :—

> "746. Fourteen appointments are made annually throughout India to the Provincial Public Works Service; 10 and 9 of these appointments are guaranteed in alternate years to the engineering colleges, and 4 and 5 are filled in alternate years by promotion from the Upper Subordinate Establishment. The guaranteed appointments are distributed among the colleges as follows :—
>
> Roorki : 6 and 7 in alternate years.
> Sibpur : 1 each year.
> Madras : 1 each year.
> Poona : 1 each year.
>
> For the Upper Subordinate Establishment the arrangements are as follows :—
>
> Roorki—16 annually of which 7 are reserved for competition among 12 military pupils.
> Sibpur—about 6 a year, including one guaranteed to the Behar School of Engineering.
>
> Madras and Bombay have each about 12 vacancies to fill each year, the greater number of which are given to students of the Madras and Poona Colleges.
>
> There are no guaranteed appointments for the Lower Subordinate Establishment, but the greater number of the appointments are filled from the engineering colleges and schools."

Besides these colleges, there were 18 engineering and surveying schools in British India with 797 pupils.[1] These were distributed as under :—

[1] Figures exclude Burma. *Vide* Table 145 of the *Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, Vol. II, p. 99.

	Schools	Pupils
Madras	2	68
Sind	1	14
Bombay	1	263
Bengal	9	325
Punjab	2	86
C. P.	1	33
Assam	2	8
Total ...	18	797

The schools and the colleges made provision for giving instruction in Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, and Civil and Military Surveying. Some provision was also made for instruction in Sanitary Engineering.

8. **Agricultural Education.** In India, Agricultural education is of the utmost importance because the vast majority of the population lives on land. And yet, for some reason or the other, very little was achieved in agricultural education during the period under review. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India,* 1897-1902, observes :—

> "The question of agricultural education has been the subject of much anxious consideration on the part of Government, but the results hitherto obtained are inconsiderable when measured by the vast field of possible achievement. The agricultural schools have been for the most part frequented by students who regard the course as an avenue to employment in the Land Revenue, Agricultural, Court of Wards, and other similar departments of the Government ; and the number of students who have sought the schools with a view to improving the methods used on their own property, or in the expectation of finding employment among native landholders, has been very small."[1]

[1] Vol. I, p. 264.

The Review then proceeds to narrate the history of the earlier attempts to spread agricultural education and observes:—

"794. The discussion on agricultural education in India has been so protracted, voluminous and intricate, that it is not possible in the present Review to give more than a broad outline of its contents The Famine Commissioners, in their report of 1880, advised that attention should be directed to the subject of agricultural education in country schools. In the following year the opening Resolution of the new Revenue and Agricultural Department of the Government of India pointed out that the co-operation of the people must be secured in working out any programme of agricultural improvement, and in correspondence which ensued with the Secretary of State the Government of India represented that no general advance in the agricultural system could be expected until the rural population had been so educated as to enable them to take a practical interest in agricultural progress and reform. These views were confirmed by the Agricultural Conference of 1888, which urged that the measure most immediately demanded was that of educating teachers competent to give instruction of the kind. The Resolution issued in the same year by the Home Department of the Government of India, reviewing the progress of education, placed a direct obligation on the Agricultural and Educational Departments in every province to work out a practical scheme of agricultural education.

In 1889 Dr. Voelcker, Agricultural Chemist to the Royal Society of England, was deputed to India to advise the Government on questions connected with agriculture, and the subject of agricultural education formed an important portion of his enquiry. A conference, at which all provinces were represented, met in October 1890 to discuss Dr. Voelcker's preliminary report, and they passed a series of eight resolutions on the educational aspect of the question. They were to the following general effect: (1) it is most desirable to extend primary education among the agricultural classes; (2) as a general rule, instruction in agriculture should be combined with the existing course of education, and should not depend *exclusively* on separate special institutions; (3) the science of agriculture should be recognized by the universities;

(4) the elementary principles of agriculture should form a prominent subject in the curriculum of village schools; (5) steps should be taken to provide suitable teaching and 'readers' for such schools; (6) the claims of men with a scientific agricultural training should be freely recognised in the revenue and cognate departments of the public service; (7) scientific agriculture should be included among the subjects for the examination for entry into such departments; (8) no arrangements for higher agricultural training can be regarded as satisfactory which do not provide for a thoroughly practical training of the students in the field and laboratory, and for examination tests of a special and searching character on the course of practical training. Dr. Voelcker's final proposals were considered by a second conference in October 1893, which adopted the previous resolutions and added four to the following effect: (9) education in the lower schools should be of such a practical character as to fit the pupils for technical pursuits, including agriculture, as well as for literary and commercial pursuits; (10) text-books should deal with familiar subjects in simple language, and object lessons should be freely used; (11) the system of training in normal schools should be adapted to qualify school teachers to give instruction of the character indicated in the eighth resolution; (12) a committee should be convened in each province to consider the questions raised in the resolutions.."[1]

All these proposals were examined by the Government of India in 1894-97 and in the latter year, Government decided to place on record the following conclusions:—

"(1) that agricultural degrees, diplomas, or certificates should be placed upon the same footing as corresponding literary or science degrees, etc., in qualifying for admission to Government appointments, and more particularly those connected with land-revenue administration;

(2) that there should be not more than four institutions giving a high class diploma, viz., at Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and some place in the North-Western Provinces, and that these should be utilized by other provinces; (3) that the diploma should eventually be compulsory in the case of certain

[1] Vol. I, pp. 264-5.

appointments, e.g., agricultural teachers in training schools, assistants to the Director of Agriculture, etc.

(4) that the practical instruction of candidates for certain subordinate appointments at a school, class, or an experimental farm, should be further considered;

(5) that a special school course leading up to the agricultural diploma, degree, or certificate, is required;

(6) that the practice of allowing schoolmasters, either before or after appointment, to pass through a course for a few months on a Government farm is one which deserves consideration."[1]

In 1901-02, there were only 5 institutions in British India (with 219 students) for imparting agricultural education, viz., Agricultural Branches of the Colleges at Poona and Sibpur (noticed above under engineering education), the College of Agriculture at Saidapet (Madras), and the agricultural schools at Cawnpore and Nagpur. Bombay was the only University that gave a degree in Agriculture (L.Ag.). The course extended over three years and admission to the course was open to students who had passed the first year examination in Arts.

Some brief notes may be offered here regarding these institutions all of which were conducted by Government. The College at Saidapet arose out of an experimental farm established in 1864, and gave instruction in a three-year course at the end of which an examination was held by the Commissioner of Government Examinations. The agricultural branch of the Poona College was opened in 1879, and that of the Sibpur College in 1899. The Agricultural School at Cawnpore had three sections; one for training *Kanungos* (revenue subordinates), one for teachers, and one for landholders. On the same lines, the Nagpur Agricultural School had three sections:—

[1] *Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, Vol. I, p. 266.

"*Section I.*—The English classes in which students pass through a two years' course of training in agriculture, preparatory to receiving appointments in the Subordinate Revenue Department.

Section II.—The normal classes in which village schoolmasters undergo a training for six months in order to qualify themselves to teach in village schools the agricultural lessons embodied in the reading books.

Section III.—The *malguzari* class, in which the sons of landowners and others who intend to make farming their profession, undergo a course of one year's training in the vernacular in practical farming."[1]

9. **Veterinary Education.** Veterinary schools and colleges were established during the period under review for training students for employment in "the subordinate ranks of the Government Civil Veterinary Department, for employment by Local Boards, Municipalities, and Native States ; and for other employment and private practice."[2] In 1901-02, there were 4 institutions for veterinary education all of which were maintained by Government. Three of these were colleges—at Bombay, Belgatchia (near Calcutta), and Lahore—which admitted matriculated students and imparted instruction in a three years' course. It is worthy of note that the Lahore College imparted instruction through the medium of the mother-tongue. The Bombay College was established in 1886 and the Bengal College in 1899. Besides the colleges, Government also conducted a veterinary school at Ajmere which gave instruction in a two years' course. The total number of veterinary students was 301 of whom only 81 studied through the medium of English.

10. **Forestry Education.** "The good conservancy of the Indian forests," wrote Mr. Nathan,

[1] *Progress of Education in India,* 1897-1902, Vol. I, p. 269.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 271.

"is a matter of the first importance, not only because of the great commercial value of the timber they produce, but also, and more especially, because of the part they play in the general agriculture of the country. The Famine Commission urged the importance of forest conservancy as a safeguard for agriculture, pointing out that a supply of wood for fuel is necessary if cattle manure is to be used to any extent for the fields, and also that forest growth serves to retain the moisture in the sub-soil. The principal forests of British India are maintained and worked by the State in the general public benefit. The State forests which are under the control of the Forest Department extended in the year 1901-02 over about 217,500 square miles; out of this total over 89,000 square miles were 'reserved' and open to systematic conservancy. The reserved area was greatest in the Central Provinces, Burma, Madras and Bombay in the order named."[1]

In 1901-02, there were only two schools of Forestry education in India—the Forest School, Dehra Dun (established 1878), and the Forestry Branch of the College at Poona (noticed above under engineering education). Both these institutions were established and maintained mainly for the training of officers and subordinates of the Forest Department.

11. **Art Education.** In 1901-02, there were four schools of Art—all managed by Government—viz., the J. J. School of Art, Bombay; the School of Art, Calcutta; the Mayo School of Art, Lahore; and the School of Art and Industry, Madras.

The objects of these Schools of Art were twofold: on the one hand, they gave a considerable amount of instruction in the fine arts as such, and trained draftsmen and teachers of drawing; on the other hand, part of their work was of an industrial character.

The early history of the Art Schools at Bombay and Madras has already been noted. The Mayo School of

[1] *Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, Vol. I, p. 275.

Art was founded in 1875 "to give instruction in the art of design with special reference to the artistic industries indigenous to the Punjab, and to the architectural and decorative styles peculiar to the province." The School of Art at Calcutta was reorganized[1] in 1896 and consisted of two sections: one section gave instruction in drawing, painting and modelling; and the other gave instruction in drawing and design, for drawing and technical art teachers, for skilled general draftsmen, for artisans and art workmen, and for designers for art industries.

In 1901-02, the total number of scholars reading in Art Schools was 1,220—321 in Madras, 423 in Bombay, 228 in Calcutta and 248 in Lahore.

In 1893, the Secretary of State suggested that the Schools of Art should be converted into technical schools on the ground that they served no useful purpose and that there was no justification for the considerable expenditure which Government incurred on their maintenance. This led to a good deal of correspondence on the subject and it was finally decided to continue them with some alteration in their objects. But the controversy did not end and even in 1901-02, no final decision had been reached regardig the true objectives of schools of art.

12. **Commercial Education.** Like agricultural education, commercial education also showed but little advance during the period under review. The subject was not recognised by any university except the Punjab, where also it was recognised for a school examination only. There was no college for commercial education except in Bombay where the Byramji Jijibhai Parsi Charitable Institution conducted a "College Department

[1] Date of opening not known.

for Commercial Instruction". But a closer analysis shows that this College Department was only a school in the proper sense of the word and prepared candidates for the Senior Certificate Examination of the London Chamber of Commerce. It may be pointed out here that the London course was mostly unsuited to Bombay. For instance, it included the mercantile law, not of India, but of England; its commercial geography centred round London and not round Bombay; its arithmetical problems were expressed in sterling and not in rupees. But in the absence of an alternative examination suited to Indian conditions, the 'college' had apparently to make the best of a bad job.

In 1901-02, there were 15 commercial schools in India with 1,123 pupils. These were distributed as under:—

	School	Pupils
Madras	6*	697
Bombay	3	93
Bengal	4	285
Punjab	2	48
Total ...	15	1,123

* There were only 6 Commercial Schools. But 17 other schools taught commercial subjects also.

13. **Technical and Industrial Education.** "Technical education," says the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, "in the sense of specialized training for trade, commerce and industry, may be said to fall into three grades. At the top stand *technical institutes* having for their object to provide instruction and training in the principles of science in their application to the industrial arts, with a view to the right understanding of the foundations upon which these

arts rest, and to promote their effective development. At the bottom stand *craft schools* having for their object to train artisans to follow their calling with dexterity and intelligence. Intermediate between these two are *technical schools* for the training of foremen and others, whose functions are superior to those of the artisans and who require some training in scientific principles, the working of machinery and the like, but do not receive a complete scientific training."[1] It is under these three heads that the subject of technical and industrial education in India can be conveniently studied.

The few industrial schools that existed in 1857, have already been noticed in an earlier section. During the next twenty years, very little action was taken by Government to promote industrial and technical education in India, and there was hardly any non-Government agency which could provide such education to Indians. The missionaries, who did excellent pioneering work in the field of general education, achieved very little in the field of technical and industrial education. It is true that they organized some institutions which, at this time, were known as 'industrial schools'. But they were really *craft schools* which aimed at teaching some craft such as carpentry or smithy to Indian Christian children in order to enable them to earn a living. The missions organized these schools because Indian Christian children (many of whom were reared up in orphanages) were not able to obtain education in crafts in their own families, or by working as apprentices in other families, as the Hindu or Muslim children did.[2] These schools, therefore, must not be confused with industrial

[1] Para 583.
[2] *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission,* 1916-18, para 143.

or technical schools proper whose object is to train foremen and other important workers for modern organized industries. Schools of the latter type were not organized either by Government or by the missionaries and obviously, Indians could not organize them. As the *Indian Industrial Commission* observed:—

"Throughout the nineteenth century, the policy of Government was controlled by the doctrine of *laissez-faire* in commercial and industrial matters, and its efforts to develop the material resources of the country were largely limited to the provision of improved methods of transport and the construction of irrigation works. Except in Bombay, the introduction of modern methods of manufacture was almost entirely confined to the European community. *The opportunities for gaining experience were not easy for Indians to come by,* and there was no attempt at technical training for industries until nearly the end of the century, and then only on an inadequate scale. The non-existence of a suitable education to qualify Indians for posts requiring industrial or technical knowledge was met by the importation of men from Europe, who supervised and trained illiterate Indian labour in the mills and factories that were started. From this class of labour it was impossible to obtain the higher type of artisan capable of supervisory work."[1]

The attention of Government was first drawn to the great urgency of developing Indian industries and a system of technical and industrial education in India by the *Famine Commission* of 1877-78. It wrote:—

"A main cause of the disastrous consequences of Indian famines, and one of the greatest difficulties in the way of providing relief in an effectual shape is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people directly depend on agriculture, and that there is no other industry from which any considerable part of the population derives its support. The failure of the usual rains thus deprives the labouring class, as a whole, not only of the ordinary supplies of food obtainable at prices within their reach, but also of the sole employment by which they can earn the means of procuring

[1] *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission,* 1916-18, para 135 (italics ours).

it. *The complete remedy for this condition of things will be found in the development of industries other than agriculture and independent of the fluctuations of the seasons.* . . . There is no reason to doubt that the action of Government may be of great value in forwarding technical, artistic and scientific education, in holding out rewards for efforts in these directions, and in forming at convenient centres museums or collections by which the public taste is formed and information is diffused. The great industrial development of Europe in recent years has doubtless received no small stimulus from such agencies; and the duty of the Government in encouraging technical education is one to which the people of England are yearly becoming more alive, and which it is certain will be more adequately performed in the future. All the causes which render such action on the part of Governments desirable in Europe apply with greater force to India."[1]

But in spite of these recommendations very little was achieved by Government in developing Indian industries or technical education. As the *Indian Industrial Commission* observed:—

"136. It would serve no useful purpose to record in detail the history of the various efforts made by the Government of India and by Provincial Governments to provide industrial and technical education suited to the needs of the country. The report of the Indian Famine Commission published in 1880, (paragraph 103), pointed out in striking terms the necessity of a diversity of employment to a country hitherto so largely agricultural. In 1882, the Government of India appointed a Commission to review the existing state of education and to frame a policy for its guidance in the future. The necessity for technical education was realised; but the Commissioners were instructed that to extend their enquiry in that direction would add unduly to the task before them. The publication, in 1884, of the report of the Royal Commission, appointed in England in 1881, focussed the attention of Government on the necessity for stimulating attempts specifically intended to develop the material resources of India and to render assistance to its artisans in the unequal struggle against the products of the factories and mills of the West, which had become greatly

[1] *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18, pp. 258-9.

intensified by the cheapening of transport, caused by the improvement of marine engineering, the opening of the Suez Canal and extension of railways in India. In their resolution of the 18th June, 1888, on the subject of technical education, the Government of India pointed out that the education hitherto provided had been too exclusively literary in its bent; that industrial training was required in view of the necessity of securing a greater variety of occupations; and that technical education could be provided with advantage at once for industries which had already reached a comparatively advanced stage of development, such as the textile and engineering industries, though the danger of establishing a system of training for those insufficiently advanced was noted. The necessity of giving a more practical bias to general education was emphasised, and Local Governments were incited to take action in these directions. The immediate results were small; but the necessity for science teaching in the colleges affiliated to the Universities was recognised, and the provision for the technical training of engineers was greatly improved. Chiefly through private effort in Bombay, by the amalgamation of various funds, the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was started in 1887, to provide courses of instruction suited to the requirements of the growing Bombay mill industry. Elsewhere and especially in Madras, the provincial efforts were rendered comparatively sterile, owing to the general acceptance of the fallacious idea that it was only necessary to provide facilities for the acquisition of technical knowledge to ensure the subsequent development of industries."

In the meanwhile, Indian opinion was growing keen on the point and demanding a rapid development of Indian industries and technical education. To begin with, it pointed to the decay of Indian industries on one hand and to the rapid development of the industries of several other countries such as the United States and Japan on the other. As Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wrote:—

"Since 1870, other nations have made enormous progress in manufacturing industries. I would particularly mention Germany, Austria, the United States and Japan, as their progress

has specially affected India. They have each done so by devising and carrying out a system of general and technical education for their peoples, accompanied by a system of State aid and encouragement of industries. And these nations—and several others besides—most of which have built up their industries by some form of State aid or protection, have taken full advantage of the policy of free trade to which India has been subjected, to purchase raw produce from India and to flood her markets with their manufactured goods. India has thus been exposed to ever-extending commercial subjugation by these nations, without being armed and equipped to offer resistance and without being protected by any fiscal walls or ramparts. This incessant and long continued attack has affected her agricultural as well as manufacturing industries. . . . Forty or fifty years ago, Japan was far behind India both in agriculture and industries. But her Government and people, working in conjunction, have brought about a wonderful development of her industries built upon a system of technical education which included everything required to enable her to occupy her proper place among the manufacturing nations of the world."[1]

Secondly, an agitation for securing state aid for the development of Indian industries and the expansion of technical education was slowly gathering strength. The history of this agitation is thus narrated by Pandit Malaviya :—

"This valuable Report (i.e., the report of the Famine Commission) was published in 1880, but it seems that little heed was paid to its most important recommendations. Little was done to encourage indigenous industries ; less to promote technical education. In the meantime the Indian National Congress, which was organized to focus Indian public opinion and to represent the wants and wishes of the Indian public to the Government, came into existence in 1885. At its third session in 1887 it passed the following resolution :—

'That having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of technical education, suitable to the condition of

[1] *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission,* 1916-18, pp. 261-2.

the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders, already existing, in regard to utilising such manufactures for State purposes, and to employ more extensively than at present the skill and talents of the people of the country.'

At its next session, in 1888, the Congress urged the appointment of a mixed Commission to enquire into the industrial condition of the country as a preliminary to the introduction of a general system of technical education. It reiterated this request in 1891. 1892, and 1893. In 1894 it affirmed in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency of establishing technical schools and colleges. It repeated the same request in 1895. In 1896, when a famine had broken out in a more or less acute form throughout India, it again urged that 'the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.' In 1898 it again prayed 'that having regard to the poverty of the people, and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a better and more successful working of the same."[1]

The period of 1877 to 1901, therefore, was one of agitation and discussion rather than of achievements. In 1901-02, there were no technological institutions in India. The number of technical and industrial schools in India was 80 with an enrolment of 4,894. Of these, only 4 were managed by Government, 16 by local bodies, 3 by Indian States and 57 by private agencies—mostly by missions. The vast majority of these were *craft schools* conducted by missionaries or local boards, and only a few were technical schools proper. It will, therefore, be seen that the provision of technical and

[1] *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18, pp. 259-60.

industrial education in India was extremely limited in 1901-02 and entirely out of proportion to that of liberal education.

14. **Conclusion.** The foregoing account of Vocational education as it was in 1901-02 will show several interesting features. *Firstly,* most of the vocational education in India was organized with a view to the needs of public administration. *Secondly,* private effort—which was so predominant in the field of general education—played but a small part in vocational education, and Indian private effort played a still smaller part. *Thirdly,* although there was some advance in legal, medical and engineering (civil) education, other branches of vocational education were neither properly organized nor greatly developed. It was to the removal of these defects that attempts were directed during the next period (i.e., 1902-37) in the history of vocational education in India.

CHAPTER XXV

PROFESSIONAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
(Contd.)

(1902-37)

IN this chapter, we shall narrate the main events in Professional and Vocational education during the period 1902-37 under the same heads as in the last chapter, but with special reference to the new policy laid down in the Resolution of Government on educational policy, dated 11th March, 1904, which turned a new page in the history of vocational education in India.

2. **Legal Education.** The history of legal education in the period 1901 to 1937 can be divided into two sub-periods: 1901 to 1927 and 1927 to 1937. During the first period, there was a steady increase in the number of students in law colleges in British India which increased from 2,767 in 1901-02 to 8,608 in 1926-27. But in the meanwhile, the legal profession became overcrowded and ceased to have that popularity and remunerative character which it had in the period 1857 to 1901 and which continued, to some extent, in the period 1901 to 1927. Consequently, there was a steady decline in the number of students attending law colleges, which stood at 7,357 in 1931-32 and at 6,780 in 1936-37.

In 1937, there were 14 law colleges and 6 law departments of universities in British India. Besides these, six colleges affiliated to the Agra University also gave instruction in law. Of the 14 law colleges, 6 were conducted by Government, 1 was aided and 7 were unaided.

In 1937, the law courses of all the Indian universities began *after* graduation; but the duration of the course was still an open question, and some universities such as Calcutta and Delhi had a three years' course while most other universities had a course of two years only. In the same way, law classes affiliated to arts colleges and part-time law colleges still continued to exist, although not to the same extent as in the earlier period.

3. **Medical Education.** A number of important events in medical education occurred during the period under review.

(*i*) A Medical Council Act was passed by the Indian Legislature in 1933 and a Medical Council of India came to be constituted under the Act. From the educational point of view, the important duties of the Medical Council are two: to grant recognition to the medical courses of Indian universities, and to secure recognition from foreign medical councils to the degrees granted by Indian universities.

(*ii*) The number of medical colleges in British India rose from 4 with 1,466 students in 1901-02 to 11 with 4,936 students in 1936-37. Of these, 7 were conducted by Government, 1 by the Lucknow University, 1 by the Bombay Corporation and 2 by private bodies. Similarly, the number of medical schools in British India rose from 22 with 2,727 students in 1901-02 to 30 with 6,999 students in 1936-37. The total expenditure on medical education rose from Rs. 722 thousand in 1901-02 to Rs. 43,61 thousand in 1936-37, of which as much as Rs. 27,67 thousand came from Government funds.

Of the new institutions that came to be established during this period, two deserve special notice. The first is the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, which

was opened in 1916. It is the only Medical College in India which is meant exclusively for women. The second is the School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta which was opened in 1921-22. It affords post-graduate instruction in tropical medicine and is the only institution of its type in India.

(*iii*) An All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was established at Calcutta by the Rockfeller Foundation in 1932. The objects of the Institute are, (1) to provide post-graduate training in public health and (2) to carry out research with a view to improving preventive measures and elucidating public health problems.

(*iv*) There was a considerable increase in the number of women students undergoing medical education as the following figures will show :—

Number of women students in	1901-02	1936-37
Medical Colleges	76	447
Medical Schools	166	936

(*v*) In 1936-37, there were ten universities with Faculties in Medicine as against four in 1901-02.

4. **Engineering Education.** Engineering education also expanded considerably during the period under review. The number of engineering colleges in British India rose from 4 with 865 students in 1901-02 to 8 with 2,199 students in 1936-37. Owing to a change of classification introduced in this period, certain institutions that were regarded as 'engineering schools' in 1901-02 were classed as 'technical schools' in 1936-37, and hence it is not possible to compare the engineering schools of 1901-02 with those of 1936-37.

Of the eight engineering colleges, six were conducted by Government. An account of four of these was given in the last chapter. The two Government colleges opened during this period were the Bihar College of Engineering, Patna, and the Maclagan Engineering College, Lahore. The third college was started by the Benares Hindu University and the fourth—the N. E. Dinshaw College, Karachi,—was the result of private effort.

Government continued to recruit the servants required for its Public Works Department from the ranks of the students of the engineering colleges and schools although the system of guaranteed appointments was discontinued during the period under review.

In 1936-37, the total expenditure on Government schools and colleges of engineering came to Rs. 1,703 thousand of which Rs. 1,221 thousand came from Government funds.

5. **Veterinary Education.** The period under review witnessed an expansion of veterinary education due, amongst others, to the following causes :—

(*i*) The Civil Veterinary Department was relieved in 1903, of all the work connected with horses and mules and hence it became free to devote itself to the work connected with agricultural problems.

(*ii*) The expansion of agricultural departments during the period under review led also to the expansion of the Veterinary Department—the number of officers recruited in India rising from 408 in 1904 to 911 in 1912. This increased demand—which went on increasing in the following years—was bound to be reflected in the expansion of veterinary education.

The main events of this period in veterinary education were the following :—

(*i*) In the quinquennium 1902-07 all veterinary schools were abolished.

(*ii*) In addition to the three veterinary colleges mentioned in the last chapter, two more colleges were opened by Government—the first at Madras in 1905 and the second at Patna in 1930.

(*iii*) An Imperial Veterinary Research Institute was opened at Muktesar in the United Provinces, in the quinquennium 1917-22, for giving post-graduate training in veterinary science.

It may be pointed out that, as in the last period, the object of veterinary education in India still cotinued to be service under Government and all the institutions for veterinary education also continued to be maintained by Government.

6. **Forestry Education**. As in the case of veterinary education, forestry education also continued to be provided entirely by Government with the object of training Government officials. In 1936-37, there were three institutions of forestry education in India.

(*i*) The first was the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, whose activities are mainly devoted to research, service of information, and instruction of an advanced type. The work of the institute was divided into six branches dealing with silviculture, botany, entomology, economic forestry, utilization, and timber development.

(*ii*) Indian Forest Ranger's College, Dehra Dun, which trained students in a specialised course of two years.

(*iii*) The Forest College, Coimbatore, which gave instruction in a 23-months' course in forestry.

7. **Art Education**. It was stated in the last chapter that the question of the continuance or otherwise of the

schools of art and of defining their true objectives had been a matter of dispute in 1901-02. The whole question was, therefore, reviewed by Government in 1904 and the following orders were issued:—

"32. There are four Schools of Art in British India—at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore. The aims to be pursued in them, and the methods proper to those aims, have been the subject of much discussion during recent years. The Government of India are of opinion that the true function of Indian Schools of Art is the encouragement of Indian Art and Art industries; and that in so far as they fail to promote these arts or industries, or provide a training that is dissociated from their future practice, or are utilized as commercial ventures, they are conducted upon erroneous principles. Their first object should be to teach such arts or art industries as the pupil intends to pursue when he has left the school. Examples of the arts which may thus be taught to those who will practise them professionally in future, or to drawing masters, are: designing (with special reference to Indian arts and industries), drawing, painting, illumination, modelling, photography and engraving. The art industries taught in Schools of Art should be such as are capable of being carried on in the locality, and in which improvement can be effected by instructing pupils or workmen by means of superior appliances, methods or designs. Instruction in these arts or art industries should be directed to their expansion through the improvement of the skill and capacity of the pupil or workman, but it should not be pushed to the point of competing with local industries, of doing within the school what can equally well be done outside, or of usurping the sphere of private enterprise. The schools should not be converted into shops nor should the officers of the Education Department be responsible for extensive commercial transactions; but samples of the wares produced may legitimately be kept for sale or for orders, and may be exhibited in public museums. A register of the workmen or pupils trained in schools should be kept, with the object of enabling orders which may be received to be placed with advantage. The teaching should be in the hands of experts, trained as a rule in Indian colleges, or in Art

Schools. The specialization of a limited number of arts and art industries in the several schools should be preferred to the simultaneous teaching of a large number. Free admission and scholarships should, as a general rule, be discouraged, and should gradually be replaced by payment of fees; but this is compatible with giving necessary assistance to promising pupils, and with the payment of wages to students as soon as their work becomes of value."[1]

During the next thirty years, the schools of art were reformed on the lines laid down in the Government Resolution quoted above. In 1936-37, there were 14 schools of art in British India with 2,106 students. When it is remembered that some of these 'Schools of Art' were really craft schools which gave no instruction in the fine arts, it is obvious that the expansion of art education cannot be said to be satisfactory.

Of these 14 institutions, six schools with 1,544 scholars were maintained by Government. The four schools of art that existed in 1901-02 were noticed in the last chapter. The two new institutions opened during the period were the Drawing and Design Classes attached to the R. C. High School, Ahmedabad, and the Government School of Art and Crafts, Lucknow.

Regarding the future of art education, the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1932-37 observes:—

"India has a long tradition of artistic achievement and these Schools of Art are doing useful work in maintaining this tradition. There is, however, much room both for expansion and for general improvement in technique. A recent writer on India has said that 'dress, furniture, architecture, the fine arts and music, give ample scope for the expression and enjoyment of beauty, and in this sphere India has much to give as well as to learn."[2]

[1] *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 11th March, 1904.
[2] Vol. I, p 212.

8. **Commercial Education.** Commercial education made considerable progress during the period under review. In 1936-37, eight commercial colleges were working in British India as against *nil* in 1901-02. The first college to be opened was the Sydenham College of Commerce in Bombay (1913) which was designed to meet the needs, not only of Bombay, but of India as a whole. The other commercial colleges were the H. L. College of Commerce, Ahmedabad, the Hailey College of Commerce, Lahore, and the Commerce Departments of the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, Allahabad, Delhi and Lucknow. The total number of students reading in these institutions in 1936-37 was 1,336. The colleges at Bombay and Lahore were conducted by Government, and that at Ahmedabad was due to private enterprise.

Besides these colleges, there were 357 commercial schools with 12,586 pupils in British India in 1936-37. These were distributed as under:—

Province	Institutions	Scholars
Madras	273	7,348
Bombay	29	1,842
Bengal	20	1,827
U. P.	1	18
Punjab	12	276
Bihar	12	556
Assam	1	27
Sind	7	606
Orissa	1	21
Delhi	1	65
Total ...	357	12,586

It is worthy of note that of these 357 commercial schools, only 18 were conducted by Government and the

rest by private bodies with very little support from the State.[1]

In 1936-37, eight universities had Faculties in Commerce as against nil in 1901-02.

9. **Agricultural Education at the Collegiate Stage.** The question of agricultural education received considerable attention during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. In 1901, Government created the post of an Inspector-General of Agriculture in India, and provided him with an assisting staff of several agricultural experts. The agricultural departments were considerably expanded; and in 1905, the Government of India announced that they would set aside Rs. 20 lakhs annually for the development of agricultural experiment, research, demonstration, and instruction in India.

The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, laid down a new policy regarding agricultural education. It observed:—

> "36. For a country where two-thirds of the population are dependent for their livelihood on the produce of the soil, it must be admitted that the provision for agricultural education in India is at present meagre and stands in serious need of expansion and reorganization. At Poona in Bombay and Saidapet in Madras there are colleges teaching a three-years' course, which is fairly satisfactory at Poona, though the staff is hardly strong enough, while at Saidapet the training is somewhat defective on the practical side. In the United Provinces the school at Cawnpore has a two-years' course, especially intended for the training of subordinate revenue officials in which direction it has done and is doing very good work, but the teaching staff is weak and the equipment inadequate. At Nagpur a school with a two-years' course gives good practical education, and special arrangements are made for a vernacular class for sons of landowners and others. Bengal has added to the Engineering College at Sibpur, near Calcutta, classes which give a two-years' agricultural training to students who

[1] Out of 339 private commercial schools, only 15 were aided.

have taken their B.A. degree at the university or have passed the F.Y. standard in the college; but the conditions are not such as to admit of a thoroughly satisfactory course. In the Punjab and Burma no attempt has yet been made to teach agriculture. In all these institutions instruction is given almost entirely in English, and until advanced text-books have been compiled in the vernacular, this must continue to be the case in all but the most elementary classes.

37. At present, therefore, while the necessity for developing agricultural resources of the country is generally recognized, India possesses no institution capable of imparting a complete agricultural education. The existing schools and colleges have not wholly succeeded, either in theory or in practice. They have neither produced scientific experts, nor succeeded in attracting members of the landholding classes to qualify themselves as practical agriculturists. Both of these defects must be supplied before any real progress can be looked for. In the first place an organization must be created by which men qualified to carry on the work of research, and to raise the standard of teaching can be trained in India itself. Before agriculture can be adequately taught in the vernacular, suitable text-books must be produced, and this can only be done by men who have learnt the subject in English. The Government of India have, therefore, under their consideration a scheme for the establishment of an Imperial Agricultural College in connection with an experimental farm and research laboratory to be carried on under the general direction of the Inspector-General of Agriculture, at which it is intended to provide a thorough training in all branches of agricultural science, combined with constant practice in farming work and estate management. In addition to shorter courses for those students who are intended for lower posts, there will be courses of instruction extending to five years, which will qualify men to fill posts in the Department of Agriculture itself, such as those of Assistant Directors, Research Experts, Superintendents of Farms, Professors, Teachers and Managers of Court of Wards and Encumbered Estates. It is hoped that a demand may arise among the landowning classes for men with agricultural attainments and that the proposed institution may succeed in meeting that demand. Arrangements will also be made to admit to the higher courses those who have undergone preliminary training

at the Provincial Colleges; and thereby exercise upon those colleges an influence tending gradually to raise their standard of efficiency."

This new policy in agricultural education consisted of three steps. The *first* step was the creation of a central institute which would train experts capable of studying the problems of Indian agriculture and of applying the principles of Western science to bring about an improvement in the methods usually employed by Indian agriculturists. The idea received a further impetus on account of a donation of £30,000 given by an American philanthropist—Mr. Henry Phipps—for the encouragement of scientific research in India. It was, therefore, decided to establish a Central Research Institute at Pusa (in Bihar). The Institute began its work in 1908; and an account of its activities has already been given in Chapter XX. Similarly, Government established at Bangalore, in 1923, an Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying which gave instruction in a two-years' course.

The *second* step in the new policy was to create an agricultural college in each important province. As the Government of India observed:—

"We propose to establish in each province an Agricultural College and Research Station, adequately equipped with laboratories and class rooms, to which will be attached a farm of suitable size. At each institution the superior staff will, it may be hoped, ultimately consist of an expert agriculturist, an economic botanist, an agricultural chemist, an entomologist, and a mycologist; and a selected member of this staff will, in addition to discharging his duties as an expert, be the Principal of the College. The staff will be required to combine teaching with research work, for we do not consider it desirable at present to duplicate the staff in the manner proposed by some Provincial Governments; and we are convinced that research will ordinarily be more active and better sustained if it is

associated with lecturing, which will check any tendency to the investigation of problems unlikely to lead to practical results. The experts, however, will need ample leisure for research and for tours in connection with their special subjects of study. Accordingly, each will be provided with an adequate number of assistants and demonstrators in his own department, so that the time of specialists may not be frittered away on merely elementary tuition, and that provision may be made for necessary lectures when members of the staff are away.

The institutions will fulfil a two-fold purpose. The problems connected with the agriculture of each province will be studied in the laboratory and in the field, while students will be given a thorough general education in all branches of agricultural science. The farm will afford a field for experiment and for the test of laboratory research, as well as a training ground for the students in the practical application of science to agriculture.

Each institution with the farm annexed and—a very important point—a whole-time Director of Agriculture to be presently proposed, will form the nucleus out of which the fully organized department for the province will be developed with greater or less rapidity as circumstances admit"[1]

Unfortunately, this policy has not been carried out in full. Even in 1936-37, there were, in British India, only six colleges of agriculture (as against three in 1901-02) at Coimbatore, Poona, Cawnpore, Naini, Lyallpur and Nagpur. The agricultural college at Saidapet, described in the last chapter, was abolished in 1905. Similarly, the agricultural classes of the Engineering College at Sibpur were abolished. The Agricultural Department of the Poona College was now developed into a separate Agricultural College. The agricultural schools at Cawnpore and Nagpur were raised to the status of colleges and three new agricultural colleges were opened at Coimbatore, Lyallpur and Naini. Of the six agricultural colleges that were thus organized during this period, five

[1] *Progress of Education in India,* 1902-07, Vol. I, pp. 176-7.

were conducted by Government, while the college at Naini—known as the Allahabad Agricultural Institute—was conducted by the American Presbyterian Mission.[1] It will be seen, therefore, that even in 1937, several important provinces such as Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Sind and N. W. Frontier had no agricultural colleges of their own.

The *third* step in the new policy in agricultural education was to remove the defects of the agricultural colleges of the earlier period which had 'neither produced scientific experts, nor succeeded in attracting members of the land-holding classes to qualify themselves as practical agriculturists'. This unhappy result, it was admitted, was due to the fact that most of the students that came to the agricultural colleges did so to qualify themselves for employment under Government, and it was hoped that the new colleges that were now organized would be free from these defects. But this expectation was not fulfilled and the question of the reform of agricultural colleges came up again for discussion at the meeting of the Board of Agriculture held in 1913, at the Conferences of Agriculturists and Educationists held at Pusa in 1916 and at Simla in 1917. The general conclusions arrived at in these conferences were the following:—

(*i*) No attempt should be made to introduce uniformity in the syllabuses of agricultural colleges; and freedom should be given to each province to develop courses of instruction which are best suited to its local conditions.

(*ii*) Each Provincial Government should be free to

[1] In 1910, an agricultural college was opened by Government at Sebour in Bihar and Orissa; but it did not succeed and was finally closed in 1924.

decide whether its agricultural college should or should not be affiliated to the local university;

(*iii*) Primary education in rural areas should be adapted more closely to rural needs; and

(*iv*) The multiplication of agricultural middle schools and high schools is essential, not only for the more general diffusion of agricultural knowledge among the cultivators, but also for raising the standard of work in agricultural colleges by widening the range from which students can be selected for higher agricultural training.

As will be seen in the next section, no satisfactory provision for agricultural instruction was made at the secondary stage. Consequently, the agricultural colleges had to recruit their students from amongst those who had undergone a purely literary education and who did not often have even an aptitude for manual labour. This difficulty was bound to affect adversely the work at the collegiate stage. The agricultural colleges of this period, therefore, did not succeed in giving practical training to agriculturists or landlords; and their students still continued to seek employment under Government in the revenue, agriculture, or rural development departments rather than take up the work of agricultural improvements and reorganization.

Although the colleges thus failed in their objective of training practical agriculturists, they had some success in the other objective of training expert scientists. The six colleges and the Institutes at Pusa and Bangalore raised considerably the standard of advanced instruction in agricultural science obtainable in India. As an important goal in vocational education is the development of such institutions in India as would give the highest training in every important vocation, the

agricultural colleges of this period can, in spite of their deficiencies, be said to have made some material progress.

10. **Agricultural Education at the Secondary Stage.** Regarding the provision of agricultural education at the upper secondary stage, the Royal Commission on Agriculture made the following observations:—

> "We are altogether opposed to the purely theoretical teaching of agriculture at the high school stage as this would merely mean the addition of another subject which would be regarded as an easy one to be 'crammed' for the Matriculation examination; nor, where high schools are situated in the towns and are filled by town-lads, do we advise the addition of any course of agriculture. Where, however, schools contain a large proportion of boys from rural areas and have facilities for the provision of a farm or a garden, the case is different. The high school curriculum has been broadened in recent years by the introduction of such practical subjects as hygiene and manual work and this might well be carried a stage further by the addition of practical as well as theoretical instruction in agriculture. The addition to the curriculum of a combined course of practical and theoretical instruction in elementary agriculture somewhat on the lines of that now given in the middle schools of the Punjab type but of a rather more advanced character would, we believe, be productive of good results. . . . The institution of such a course should not be allowed in any way to interfere with the instruction of the boys in science and the improvement of the present standard of teaching it. Adequate instruction in elementary science at this stage is of the greatest importance for the boy who intends to go on to an agricultural college."[1]

In the same way, the Commission strongly recommended the establishment of agricultural middle schools.[2] At the time of the Commission's report, two types of such schools prevailed in India—one in Bombay and

[1] *Report*, para 461.

[2] The 'middle schools' of Punjab correspond with the Upper Primary or Lower Secondary Schools of Bombay.

the other in the Punjab. The Commission carefully considered the advantages of each of these types and recommended the adoption of the latter. It observed:—

"At the Marathi Agricultural School at Loni near Poona, which is of the vocational type, admission is limited to fifty boys and the qualifications laid down for it are that the applicant must belong either to a cultivating or a landholding class, that he must have completed his education up to the fourth Marathi standard, that he must be between fourteen and seventeen years of age and that his object in coming to the school must be to train himself for work on his own land and not for service in a Government department. The course lasts for two years and the instruction which is given in the vernacular is both theoretical and practical. Three hours daily are devoted to practical work on the farm of twenty-two acres which is attached to the school and the whole area of which is worked by the boys. In the second year, each boy is made responsible for the cultivation and cropping of an area of about one quarter of an acre; he is also required to keep a diary of his daily work and a cultivation sheet of expenses and realizations. Two crops are raised during the year, one dry and one irrigated. The care of the milking herd and of the farm bullocks is entrusted to the boys. The school has a workshop in which they learn smithy and carpentry work and also an oil engine and power driven farm machinery which they manage. Weekly visits are paid to neighbouring cultivation and during their second year, the boys are taken on an extensive tour throughout the presidency. It is important to note that, if the student remains at the school for the whole of the course, this education is provided free of all cost except the small amount which has to be deposited to meet current expenses. There are now six schools of this type in the Bombay Presidency but it has so far made little headway in other provinces.

In the Punjab type, elementary agriculture is an optional subject in the curriculum of the ordinary vernacular middle schools. In the words of a Circular which was issued in 1923: 'the aim is to enrich the middle school course in rural areas by the inclusion of agricultural training and thus to bring it more in keeping with the environment of the pupils; and

the object is to use agriculture as a means of mental discipline and training and as an important accessory to the general subjects taught in these schools.

Under this system, the instruction given in the class room is both illustrated and supplemented by practical work in all agricultural processes on the land. For this purpose, farms of about three acres in extent were attached to the schools in which the new course was first introduced but, owing to financial stringency, the alternative of school gardens, half an acre to an acre in extent, was adopted in 1923. Six periods per week are devoted to the course by each of the four classes which make up the vernacular middle school in the Punjab. All the work on the farms and gardens, except that of looking after the bullocks on the farms, is done by the boys themselves and it is interesting to note that many of the farms and gardens are not only self-supporting but have an annual balance to their credit. The teaching is in the hands of trained and carefully selected teachers who have first taken the ordinary senior vernacular training course and have then completed a separate course in agriculture at the Lyallpur Agricultural College. An additional link between the agricultural and educational departments is provided by the fact that the general supervision of these activities is entrusted to an adviser in agricultural training who is an officer of the Education Department. His headquarters are at Lyallpur Agricultural College. When we visited the Punjab, there were 66 schools of this type, 26 of which had farms attached to them and 40 gardens. It was hoped to increase the number during 1927-28 to 121, of which 64 would have farms and the others gardens. The Punjab model has been very closely followed in the United Provinces, where there are, or shortly will be, some twenty of these schools. In Bombay, there are forty-three schools known as 'agricultural-bias' schools of a very similar type.

After the most careful consideration, we have come to the conclusion that in no scheme of rural education, the cost of which is defrayed by Government, ought schools of the Bombay type to find a place. There is no evidence that there is a popular demand for them. They appear to us to be an artificial addition to the educational system and in no way a natural development of it. They are very costly and lead nowhere. The boys who attend them receive no instruction in the subjects

required by high school and college. It is only in exceptional circumstances that a parent is prepared to decide upon the future career of a promising boy at the early age of thirteen or fourteen. The establishment of schools of the Bombay type merely means that an agency far more expensive than the normal is employed to train boys destined for work on the land.

We consider, on the other hand, that the Punjab type of school has much to recommend it. It is true that this method of imparting instruction in elementary agriculture in rural middle schools has not been in use sufficiently long to enable conclusions as to its merits to be reached. It may be, as we were told in Bombay, that most of the boys who pass through the course will prefer to become teachers or village accountants to farming of their own land. But even if this should prove to be so, the value of the training in agriculture they have received will not be lost to the countryside and there would still remain a large residuum who would take up agriculture as their occupation. In the meantime, there is no doubt that the classes have so far proved a great success and that they have attained a popularity which has been denied to schools of the vocational type. Although no approximation to a final solution has been attained, it is, in our view, in this direction that the true solution of the problem of relating the instruction given in middle schools in rural areas to their environment is to be found."[1]

From the account of vocational education at the secondary stage given in Chapter XXII, it will be seen that very little was achieved during the period under review on the lines recommended by the Commission—a result which was due largely, if not exclusively, to the financial stringency that began soon after the publication of the report of the Commission. The number of high schools teaching agriculture as an optional subject or of agricultural-bias classes of the Punjab type was extremely small as compared to the number of high and middle schools that gave literary education and the problem of agricultural instruction at the secondary

[1] *Abridged Report,* pp. 65-6.

school stage still remained unsolved at the end of the period under review.

11. **Technical and Industrial Education.** We saw in the last chapter that technical and industrial education in India was generally neglected till the end of the nineteenth century. By the beginning of this century, however, the question began to receive prominent attention in official circles and the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, gave the following new lead on the subject:—

"Technical education in India has hitherto been mainly directed to the higher forms of instruction required to train men for Government service as engineers, mechanicians, electricians, overseers, surveyors, revenue officers, or teachers in schools, and for employment in railway workshops, cotton-mills and mines. The institutions which have been established for these purposes, such as Engineering Colleges at Roorki, Sibpur and Madras, the College of Science at Poona, the Technical Institute at Bombay, and the Engineering School at Jubbulpur, have done and are doing valuable work, and their maintenance and further development are matters of great importance. The first call for fresh effort is now towards the development of Indian industries, and especially of those in which native capital may be invested. Technical instruction directed to this object must rest upon the basis of a preliminary general education of a simple and practical kind, which should be clearly distinguished from the special teaching that is to be based upon it, and should as a rule be imparted in schools of the ordinary type. In fixing the aim of the technical schools, the supply or expansion of the existing Indian markets is of superior importance to the creation of new export trades, and a clear line should be drawn between educational effort and commercial enterprise. As a step towards providing men qualified to take a leading part in the improvement of Indian industries, the Government of India have determined to give assistance in the form of scholarships to selected students to enable them to pursue a course of technical education under supervision in Europe or America. They hope that the technical

schools of India may in time produce a regular supply of young men qualified to take advantage of such facilities, and that the goodwill and interest of the commercial community may be enlisted in the selection of industries to be studied, in finding the most suitable students for foreign training, and in turning their attainments to practical account upon their return to this country. The experience which has been gained in Japan and Siam of the results of sending young men abroad for study justifies the belief that the system will also be beneficial to Indian trade.

33. Industrial schools are intended to train intelligent artisans or develop those local industries which are capable of expansion by the application of improved methods or implements. Schools of this type are not numerous, nor have they at present succeeded in doing much to promote the growth of industries. A recent enumeration gives their total number as 123, with 8,405 pupils in attendance, and the number of different trades taught as 48. Some are conducted by Government, either as separate institutions or attached to schools of art, while others are managed by local authorities, or by private persons under a system of grants-in-aid. A large proportion of the pupils who attend them have no intention of practising the trade they learn, but pass into clerical and other employments, using the industrial schools merely in order to obtain the general education which they could acquire in ordinary schools at less cost to the State, but at greater cost to themselves. Even for those who do intend to follow the trades taught in the industrial schools, it is feared that in some cases the teaching given does not provide a training of a sufficiently high standard to enable them to hold their own with artisans who have learnt their craft in the bazaar. The industries selected are frequently not those which are locally of most importance, and there is an undue predominance of carpentry and blacksmith's work amongst them.

34. An attempt will now be made to remedy these defects. The Government of India do not expect a large immediate increase in the number of industrial schools, and they desire rather to encourage experiment than to prescribe fixed types for this form of education. Admission will be confined to those boys who are known by their caste or occupation to be likely

to practise in after life the handicrafts taught in the schools, and the courses of study will be so ordered as not to lend themselves to the manufacture of clerks but to bear exclusively upon carefully selected industries. A distinction will be drawn between those types of school which will be suitable for the large centres of industry, where capital is invested on a great scale and the need of training artisans is already recognised by the employers, and those adapted to places where hand industries prevail, and where the belief in the value of technical training has yet to make its way. In the former the prospects are favourable for the establishment of completely equipped trade schools, such as are found in other countries; in the latter search has still to be made for the kind of institution which will take root in Indian soil. Suggestions for experiment based upon observation of the habits and tendencies of Indian artisans have been placed before the Local Governments. They will be pursued further under the advice of skilled experts in particular industries."

The main events in technical education of the next thirty years can be conveniently studied against the backgroud of these important recommendations.

12. **Technological Studies.** In 1901-02, it will be recalled, there was no provision in India for technological training. The Government of India had, therefore, to choose between two alternatives—either to develop technological institutions in India or to send Indian students abroad to receive technological training. It chose the latter alternative because it was then believed that technological institutions would not succeed in India, and decided to give ten scholarships annually to enable Indian students to obtain technological training in the United Kingdom. "The object of these scholarships," says the *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India,* 1907-12,

"is to qualify the holders, on returning to India, to assist in promoting the improvement of existing native industries,

especially those which are or may be organized on a considerable scale and those in which Indian capital is or may be embarked. The subjects are annually chosen by local governments in consultation with mercantile opinion. Agriculture, law, medicine, forestry and veterinary science are excluded from the scheme. Engineering, at first excluded, has now been admitted; and recently a scholar was sent to study architecture. There is no examination, nominations are made by local governments and final selections by the Government of India. Those are chosen who are considered to fulfil certain conditions. The scholar is expected to have had the best education available in the province in the industry he intends to study, a practical interest in the subject and the intention of devoting himself in India to the practice of what he has learned. The value of each scholarship is £150 a year. The scholar also receives his travelling expenses, and his education fees. The tenure of the scholarship is for two years but it may be extended. Government does not guarantee the holder any employment on his return. Ordinarily, one scholarship is awarded to each province annually, but more may be given, subject to the total limit of ten scholarships."[1]

Between 1905-1917, one hundred and thirteen scholarships were given and here is a description of the results obtained :—

"Of these, 36 have not yet completed their time abroad. Five are employed in industrial firms abroad, and four in state employ outside India—mainly in connection with the war. The scholarships of two were cancelled; two refused to return to India. Two are undergoing further education. Three are dead, all of whom had been employed—two in India and one by the Bristol Corporation. The whereabouts of two is unknown. Of the remaining 56, 31 are in private employ in India, 18 in the employ of Government or Native States, one is translating scientific works into Hindi, one joined the bar, one is a sub-deputy collector, and four unemployed. . . . The private employment obtained in India is almost always industrial, and usually under a firm, though a few ex-scholars have started their own business. The state posts always have some bearing

[1] Vol. I, p. 176.

on industries and are connected with geological surveys, forestry, or educational institutions."[1]

By 1917, a revision of the scheme was called for on various grounds, but mainly because of a feeling, which had grown up during this period, that the results of these scholarships had not justified the expectations formed of them. A special committee, known as the Morison Committee, was appointed to enquire into the problem and as a result of its recommendations, the following changes were introduced:—

(*i*) The maximum number of scholars at any one time in Europe was raised to 30.

(*ii*) The period of each scholarship was fixed at not less than two or more than five years. Arrangements were also made for giving scholarships to selected persons for doing practical work in India before going to England.

(*iii*) Power to select scholars was given to provincial governments.

(*iv*) In selecting candidates, preference was given to those who had aptitude for the industry and suitable academical qualifications.

(*v*) Preference was given to industries such as textiles, mining, pottery, tanning, matches, glass, sugar, pencils and paper; and law, medicine, forestry, veterinary science, agriculture, civil engineering (except sanitary and municipal), geology, the extraction of alkalis and vegetable oil were excluded.

In 1921, the whole scheme was transferred to provincial governments as a result of the introduction of diarchy.

In the meanwhile, opinion had grown considerably against this scheme of technical scholarships. To begin with, it was argued that the first duty of Government was to develop Indian industries; that Indians would take to technological studies automatically if Indian industries were encouraged; and that technological

[1] *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India*, 1912-17, Vol. I, p. 147.

training of Indians would be of no use so long as the main industries of the country remained under non-Indian control. For instance, the *Madras Chamber of Commerce* wrote :—

> "The Chamber understands that manufacturing industries are what Government have chiefly in mind, and if it is only in that direction that encouragement by the grant of scholarships is proposed, the Chamber fears that the difficulty you mention of attracting suitable native candidates for them will prove insurmountable. The reasons are that practically all manufacturing industries in India are at present run by Europeans, and they, when requiring men with expert knowledge for responsible posts (such as an ex-scholarship holder would naturally aspire to), would almost certainly prefer to employ a European, whose capacity and general reliability they could better form an opinion of. Natives doubtless realise this, so those of a class and with the education, ability and energy to qualify for technical scholarships are scarcely likely to care to enter on a career with no very promising or assured prospects for them in it."[1]

Secondly, the charge that Indians had no love for technological studies was denied and it was argued that ten scholarships a year were too few for the country. In 1904, an "Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians" was formed at Calcutta and with the help of subscriptions and donations, it gave 16 scholarships in 1904, 44 in 1905, and 96 in 1906. The exact number of scholarships given in later years is not known; but in 1916-17 it was reported that 156 of its scholars had returned to India and that 140 of them were employed.[2]

It would even appear that several students went abroad on their own and so far as the period under

[1] *Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, pp. 191-2.

[2] Note by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, p. 261 and the *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, Vol. I, para 604.

review is concerned, the holders of Government scholarships formed but a small minority even among the Indian students of technical sciences in the United Kingdom, to say nothing of the Indian students in other lands. For instance, consider the following statistics :—

United Kingdom	1926-27	1931-32
1. Holders of Government Scholarships ...	57	52
2. Total number of Indian students of technical science in the United Kingdom	321	318

Thirdly, disputes arose over the industries to be selected for scholarships and it was even questioned why all the students should be sent to the United Kingdom only. For instance, a majority of the scholarships granted by the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians were for study in America and Japan and the subjects of study were agriculture, leather, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, practical chemistry, spinning, weaving, handlooms, matches, soap, buttons, enamel, sericulture, glass and mining.

Fourthly, there was also an opinion—it is not possible to state how far it was true—that English firms were, for some reason or the other, unwilling to train Indian students in technical industries ;[1] and a suggestion was often put forward that Government should produce its requirements in India rather than buy them in England so that by the starting of these industries, Indians would get a chance of technical training in their own country. Failing that, it was urged that contracts for Indian

[1] *Vide* the evidence before the Lytton Committee, 1921-22.

Government Stores should be placed only with such firms as would agree to train Indian apprentices.

Fifthly, Indian opinion was keenly advocating the establishment of technological institutions in India.[1] It was with this idea that the Tatas offered a large donation for founding the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. (An account of this Institute has already been given in Chapter XX). It was urged that India cannot depend eternally on other nations to train its youths and that it is the duty of Government to provide facilities for the highest education of every type in India itself.

The whole question, therefore, was referred to a special committee, presided over by Lord Lytton, and known popularly as the *Committee on Indian Students in England*, 1921-22. This Committee made the following comments on the difficulties which Indian students of technology had to face in England :—

"For example, those students who come here (i.e., to England) for the study of any subject involving a period of practical training meet with a number of peculiar difficulties.

We have been informed that considerable difficulties have recently been experienced in finding firms and employers willing to admit Indian students for the practical training which they desire. In times of trade depression—and this is especially the case when the depression as severe as that which began in the United Kingdom towards the end of 1920, and still continues—employers are reluctant to take students of any nationality in their works, partly because they have little work for them to do, and partly because, at a time when they are being compelled to discharge many of the regular employees, they do not regard the admission of others as reasonable. Trade depression is not, however, the only cause of the difficulty experienced in this matter. In Engineering, the metallurgical industries, and the manufacture of machinery,

[1] *Vide* the proceedings of the *Indian Industrial Conference*, since 1905.

there should be little difficulty in normal times in securing the practical training required, but in other industries, such as textiles, chemical, and allied trades, leather and glass-making, the difficulties are much greater and employers contend that the necessity of guarding their trade secrets, and the fear of trade competition would prevent them from admitting Indian students to their works even if they had plenty of work to do. Students, therefore, who wish to study these subjects, are likely to meet with disappointment unless they make careful enquiries into their chances of obtaining practical training before they leave India.

The problem in regard to practical training, even where it is available, is, however, much wider than that of merely securing admission to works or factories. If the money required for practical training is to be spent to the best advantage, both of the Indian students themselves and of India as a whole, it is of the utmost importance, first, that the students should be of such a type as will enable them to profit by an industrial training, and secondly, that they should get the precise kind of training which will be of the most use to them on their return to India. From the evidence which has been placed before us, it appears that many of the Indians who now visit England with the object of being trained for an industrial career have not had the kind of initial upbringing which predisposes them to the practical side of their work, and that they consequently suffer, in comparison with English students, from a lack of the mechanical turn of mind which, in the case of the latter, has been fostered by their environment and tradition. This lack of natural aptitude or preparation for mechanical training necessarily has its effect both on the employers who admit the students to their works and on the students themselves in the course of their career. Industrial training is something which is gradually acquired rather than specifically taught; and, provided he knows what he wants, and secures admission to the right kind of works, an apt pupil only needs the opportunity of remaining for a certain length of time in order to obtain experience which will be of most value to him. On the other hand, a student with insufficient knowledge of the precise kind of training he needs may seek admission to works so highly specialized that he is unable to obtain there the general training which is

required for the conditions to which he will return. Moreover, while many employers are ready enough to offer facilities to students whose knowledge is such as to make them useful in the works, they not unnaturally fight shy of admitting those who are merely in the way and encroach on the time of other employees owing to their greater need of instruction. Accordingly, if an Indian student is to get the kind of training which will be of most use to him in taking share in the development of Indian industry, it is essential that he should know from his own experience, or from that of others, exactly what are the conditions of the particular industry in India, which he desires to enter, and the type of post which he is likely to secure on his return. Unfortunately, it appears that this knowledge is often lacking; and Indians desiring practical training are apt to spend unnecessary time in the endeavour to gain experience in all branches of an industry with only one branch of which they will eventually find themselves concerned. Again, there is a danger that a student who does not possess the necessary knowledge may spend a long time in becoming familiar with industrial processes which are so far in advance of, or differ so widely from, those in use in India, that many years must elapse before he has any opportunity of applying to Indian industry the experience he has gained in the United Kingdom. It would be well to bear in mind that as a rule factories in India are not equipped or run with anything like the complete and up-to-date methods which exist in English factories. The training, therefore, that a student receives in an English factory is often of very little use to him when he returns to his own country. It is easy to understand, for instance, that the training received by a student in a thoroughly equipped and up-to-date motor works in England can be of little use to him when he returns to India, where the manufacture of motors is still probably in a rudimentary stage; and the same remark would apply to many other industries.

In some cases Indian students appear to proceed to the United Kingdom for the purpose of studying particular processes of manufacture, and then to find, after their arrival, and after months of search and enquiry, that they are unable to obtain the facilities they require because the particular process in question is not in use by British manufacturers or because the premium required is quite beyond their means; and as a result

they have either to return home or to renew their search in other countries. In both cases they incur expenditure which uses up their resources, and they eventually carry with them back to India a belief that neither the Government nor the British manufacturers desire to promote in any way the development of Indian industries."[1]

The following recommendation of the Committee which referred to all aspects of education deserves a careful perusal:—

"India has now been set on the road to self-government and autonomy, and it must be obvious that her sons and daughters ought to be able to receive their education within her own borders. We believe, therefore, that the only permanent solution of the problem is the development of education in India in all its branches as early as possible. This view has been pressed upon us by all the witnesses that have appeared before us. The position is perhaps best summarized thus by Sir Charles Mallet: 'It is, I believe, in the development of education in India that the only permanent solution of our problem lies. Hitherto the tradition has been that only men trained in England were qualified for the prizes of the profession in Indian administration, medicine, law. We have readily encouraged Indian students to come here, fit and unfit, educated and uneducated, and have taught them that a smattering at least of English education was the best recommendation for professional success. Until we frankly abandon that tradition Indian students will inevitably flock here, and probably, as time goes on, in numbers with which British institutions will refuse to cope. We are at present manufacturing the difficulties we deplore. May it not be well to consider whether this tradition should not be given up and a new tradition substituted, namely, that India must and can provide an adequate education even for the ablest of her sons? Instead of trying to make good Indians into indifferent Englishmen, to superimpose a superficial English training in a few years at Oxford or a few years in London at the Bar, might it not be possible to develop an Indian type at least as highly educated and as competent even for administrative purposes as any hybrid? Such an undertaking would be slow and difficult and

[1] Para 37.

costly; but may it not be that the change has to come? It would mean raising the standards of Indian universities, and of Indian education generally to levels never yet attained. It would mean an Indian Bar and Judicature, trained, organized and developed on their own lines. It would mean a highly-trained medical service, and opportunities for medical and industrial training far in advance of anything yet attempted. It would not, of course, mean, for many years at any rate, less intercourse with England or less intellectual stimulus from English sources; quite the reverse. But it would be a natural instead of an unnatural system, and its home would be in India, not here. I do not underrate the difficulties involved in adopting such a policy fully and frankly. But I submit that it may prove to be the only final remedy for the difficulties we find in the Indian student problem today.' The same view was expressed by Sir W. Meyer as follows: 'The great difficulty in regard to Indian students is the number of men who come over, very many of whom would much better be trained in India itself. We cannot, of course, prevent such students leaving India for study, or so-called study, in England, but a good deal might be done by the Indian Government to minimise the attractions which draw them.'

We have expressed the view that the educational side of the problem can only be solved by the improvement of conditions in India; and we desire to repeat our conviction that no Government in India, whatever its constitution, should be satisfied until the universities of that country are staffed with the teachers and equipped with the material necessary to ensure the best education which any Indian can require. When that has been done no Indian will be under the necessity which now exists to seek his education abroad."[1]

During the period of 1921 to 1937, therefore, the efforts of Government and of the public were mainly directed to organize the highest type of technological instruction in India itself. Among the institutes that thus came to be organized, we may mention the Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad, the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore, and the School of Chemical

[1] Para 84.

Technology, Bombay. But in such matters, progress is necessarily slow and even at the end of the period under review, Indian students were still going abroad in large numbers for technical studies. In 1936-37, as many as 220 Indian students were studying technical subjects in the United Kingdom alone. Regarding them, the *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India, 1932-37*, observes:—

> "Indian students go abroad for technical and industrial education. There are 220 Indian students receiving training in various branches of engineering and technology in the universities and colleges in the United Kingdom and Eire. Arrangements are also made by the High Commissioner for India for placing Indian students in factories, works, etc., for practical training in these subjects. The reports on the work and progress of these students show that with very few exceptions they take full advantage of their opportunities and give satisfaction to the firms which accept them. The exceptions are usually those students who have failed to appreciate the real nature and aim of the training on which they have embarked, or started specialised training at too early a stage. For some years, it has been the policy of the High Commissioner for India, in placing contracts, to give preference, other things being equal, to firms which are willing to provide training facilities for Indian students. It is reported that the number of students for whom training facilities have been obtained has increased in recent years."[1]

13. **Technical and Craft Schools.** Unfortunately, the statistics given in the official reports do not give separate figures of technical and craft schools. It is, therefore, not possible, for the period under review, to estimate separately the progress under each of these heads. But it may be stated that, in 1936-37, the total number of "technical, craft, and industrial schools" was 535 with an enrolment of 30,509. Of these, 140 were conducted by Government, 31 by boards and 364 by

[1] Vol. I, pp. 217-8.

private agencies of which only 38 were unaided. The total expenditure on these schools came to Rs. 46,68 thousand out of which Rs. 28,24 thousand came from Government funds.

Among the more important technical schools, we may mention the *Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute,* Bombay, which provides courses in mechanical and electrical engineering, textile manufactures, technical and applied chemistry, and sanitary engineering and plumbing; the *R. C. Technical Institute,* Ahmedabad, which provides three years' courses in cotton spinning, cotton weaving and mechanical engineering; the *Jamshedpur Technical Institute,* Tatanagar, which offers several courses for training young men for posts in the Tata Iron and Steel Company; the *Government School of Technology,* Madras, which offers courses in mechanical and electrical engineering and printing; the *Government Textile Institute,* Madras, which gives instruction in courses for various mill apprentices and in certain subjects such as knitting; the *Calcutta Technical School,* which trains apprentices for the various industrial concerns in and around Calcutta; the *Technical Schools* at Kanchrapara, Kharagpur and Pahartali, which train workers for railway workshops; the *Victoria Diamond Jubilee Technical Institute,* Lahore, which offers training in mechanical and electrical engineering; the *Government Technical School,* Lahore, which has departments in electro-mechanics, die-pressing and die-making; and the *Technical Institutes* at Ranchi, Tirhut and Jamalpur, which cater to the needs of industries in Bihar.

14. **Conclusion.** This review of the growth of vocational education in the period 1902-37, may be advantageously compared with that in the earlier period. The following points of contrast may be noted:—

(*i*) In the period of 1822-1901, vocational education was mostly organized with a view to supplying the needs of the public administration. This domination of Government service continued, even during the period under review, in the case of veterinary and forestry education. In most other branches of vocational education, however, there was a change for the better and young men and women now began to be educated to meet the needs of modern society and to aid the development of industries and commerce.

(*ii*) In the period of 1822-1901, there were no technological institutions in India, nor did Indians go abroad in large numbers for technical studies. In the period 1902-37, however, Indian students began to undergo technical and vocational training in several foreign countries such as England, Germany, America, and Japan. At the same time, attempts were made to develop institutions for imparting the highest scientific and vocational education in India itself.

(*iii*) In the period 1822 to 1901, almost all the institutions of vocational education—with the exception of the industrial or craft schools organised by missionaries—were conducted by Government; but in the next period, private effort, especially Indian private effort, began to play a much larger part.

It is true that the actual achievements were not great and that the nation had yet a long way to go. But it is still a satisfactory feature of the period under review that the main lines on which vocational education ought to be reorganized were clearly formulated and that a fairly good start had already been made in what cannot but be a long and difficult journey.

EDUCATION IN INDIA—A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT

WITH the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in eleven provinces of British India in 1937, the third period in the history of modern education in India comes to an end. This is a fitting place, therefore, to refer to some of the important problems of Indian education that have been thrown into sharp relief by the foregoing narrative.

2. **The Responsibility of the Government of India in Educational Matters.** (*a*) The interest taken by the Government of India in educational matters has varied from time to time. It was not very extensive in the first period, extremely keen in the second period, and almost non-existent in the third.

The first period was one of *provincial freedom.* It is true that centralization had begun as early as the Regulating Act of 1773 and that the control of the Governor-General over the provincial governors was gradually being tightened with each succeeding Act of legislation. But up to 1854 extreme centralization was not a *fait accompli,* and each province could, therefore, evolve an independent educational policy of its own.

In the second period, centralization in educational policy was the order of the day. In fact, *this period may be appropriately described as one in which responsibility for the education of the people was assumed by the Government of India itself.* In no period of the educational history of India did the Central Government take so much interest in education as in this. After the Despatch of 1854 a comprehensive review of education

in India was held by the Central Government on the occasion of the Despatch of 1859. This was followed by similar comprehensive reviews held in 1865-66, 1867-68, and in 1870-71. Then came the Indian Education Commission, 1882-84. This was followed by the conference of the Directors of Public Instruction held at Simla in 1901, the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902, the passing of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the issue of Government Resolutions on Educational Policy in 1904 and 1913, and the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission in 1917. An Education Department in the Government of India was created in 1910-11. In addition to the 'Quinquennial Reviews of the Progress of Education in India' which were first published in 1886, the Government of India commenced issuing annual reviews of education in 1913-14. Besides this, the Central Government also issued, from time to time, resolutions regarding special aspects of education such as Agricultural or Technical education. It will be seen, therefore, that throughout the second period, and particularly after 1901, the Government of India took a very keen interest in educational activities.

In the third period, *this keen interest shown by the Government of India came to a sudden end.* It is true that the annual and quinquennial reviews of education still continued to be published; but hardly anything else was done. A Central Advisory Board of Education was organized in 1920 with a view to assisting provincial governments with expert advice; but, in spite of its useful work, it was abolished in 1923 as a measure of retrenchment. For the same reasons, the Department of Education in the Government of India ceased to have an independent existence and was amalgamated with

other departments. It was as late as in 1935 that the Central Advisory Board of Education was revived although the necessity for its revival was stressed by the Hartog Committee in 1929. The position has thus materially improved in recent years; but it has to be admitted that the Government of India took little interest in educational matters in so far as the major part of the third period is concerned.

(*b*) *Secondly,* the financial assistance which the Government of India used to give to educational activities of the provincial governments has also varied from period to period. Prior to 1859, all the revenues of India belonged technically to the Central Government. Hardly any powers were given to provincial governments in financial matters with the result that the latter were not even able to close or open a school, to create the post of a teacher or to increase a teacher's remuneration without the previous sanction of the Government of India. In 1859, however, the Government of India permitted the provincial governments (at least some of them) "to make such changes and alterations in the educational establishments as they might consider absolutely necessary, provided such arrangements did not involve additional expenditure."[1] In 1870, Lord Mayo introduced his decentralization scheme, according to which certain departments such as jails, police, education, and roads, were transferred to the provincial governments. To meet the expenditure under these heads, the provinces were authorised to use all the income from these heads and were also given *fixed assignments* from the other sources of revenue

[1] *Indian Provincial Finance,* by B. R. Misra, pp. 37-8. Also *vide Reports of the Director of Public Instruction,* Bombay, for 1858-59 (paras 14-18) and 1859-60 (paras 7-10) for an interesting discussion of the subject.

which continued to be credited to the Central Government. Moreover, the provinces were given many powers in financial matters, especially in cases of reappropriation within their sphere and in the management of services whose pay was below a specified amount. In 1877, Lord Lytton introduced the system of *Quinquennial Settlements* according to which—

(*i*) The provincial governments were made responsible for a number of departments, education being one of them;

(*ii*) They were given the entire receipts from certain sources of revenue such as law and excise;

(*iii*) As these were not enough to meet the cost of the departments entrusted to provincial governments, they were also given an assignment from other revenues. The amount of the assignment was fixed after taking into account the requirements of the provinces and the assignment was changed only after five years.

This system of quinquennial settlements was continued till 1882 when the idea of "divided heads" was introduced (*vide* Chapter XX). The system was made quasi-permanent in 1902 and permanent in 1912.[1] At each of these settlements, the 'contract' or assignment for education underwent a revision and was increased. Besides, the Government of India occasionally gave *special* grants for education to provincial governments over and above the quinquennial contract. This was particularly the case in the period 1900-21, when large educational grants were sanctioned by Lord Curzon. Moreover, in 1911-12 and 1912-13, a non-recurring grant of Rs. 84 lakhs and a recurring grant of

[1] For a detailed treatment of the subject, *vide The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India,* by B. R. Ambedkar, Chapters I-VI.

Rs. 50 lakhs was distributed among the provinces. Between the years 1913 and 1917, the Government of India distributed educational grants from the Imperial funds amounting to Rs. 329 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 124 lakhs recurring.[1] It is also very interesting to note that—

> "by the end of 1918, the Government of India had formulated a scheme of expansion for the whole of India, by which there would have been a general compulsion on all local bodies throughout the country to provide facilities for the extension of primary education, so as to double the number of pupils in primary schools within ten years. It was proposed that towards the cost, the Imperial Government should find one-third, provincial governments one-third, and local bodies one-third. The cost of training additional teachers was to be divided between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments."[2]

The whole aspect of the problem was, however, changed in the third period. Owing to the new system of financial arrangements under diarchy which has been described in Chapter XX, the Government of India not only ceased to give any financial assistance to provinces but for a few years, even demanded contributions from the provinces to balance its own budget. The finances of the provincial governments were hit hard by the centralization of elastic and lucrative sources of revenue, and in the absence of any assistance from the Government of India, the provincial governments were, by themselves, unable to raise the large sums which were required for the expansion of education. The unhappy results of this financial stringency have already been described.

(c) The most important question of the day, therefore, refers to the role which the Government of India should

[1] *Report of the Hartog Committee*, p. 275.
[2] *Report of the Hartog Committee*, pages 275-6.

have in planning the educational advance of the country. There will be general agreement with the Hartog Committee in the view that the 'divorce' between the Government of India and education—which is an outstanding feature of the period 1921 to 1937—has been unfortunate and that the Government of India can and ought to assist educational reorganization in the following ways:—

(*i*) It should give expert advice to provincial governments on such matters as may be referred to it;

(*ii*) It should act as a central co-ordinating agency between provincial governments;

(*iii*) It should assume direct responsibility for training the youth of the country in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and such key industries (e.g., Railways) as are under its direct control;

(*iv*) It should give financial assistance to provincial governments in introducing compulsory elementary education, or in executing extensive schemes for the liquidation of adult illiteracy.

A little clarification regarding the last proposal is necessary. Prior to 1854, all the revenues of India belonged to the Central Government and it had also assumed all the duties and responsibilities of a Government. Later on, decentralization was introduced and the revenue and duties of the Central Government came to be distributed between the Central Government, the provincial governments and the local bodies. But the tragedy of the whole scheme was that while responsibilities came to be delegated by the Government of India to the provincial governments and by the provincial governments to local bodies on one set of principles; the financial resources of the country came to be allocated between these bodies on quite a different

set. The result has been that neither the provincial governments nor the local bodies have obtained adequate resources for the proper discharge of their obligations. It is, therefore, necessary either to readjust the financial resources between the Central and Provincial Governments and Local Bodies, or to introduce a system of grants from the Central to the Provincial governments, just as a system of grants has already come to exist between the provincial governments and the local bodies. For instance, the Adult Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board recommended[1] that the Government of India should give grants to provinces for adult education work ; and the Hartog Committee recommended that the Central Government should give financial assistance to the provinces for primary education.[2] Its observations on this subject are so important that they will bear quotation *in extenso* :—

> "We have made it clear in the preceding paragraphs that we regard it as of importance that the Imperial Government should keep itself informed as to the condition of education throughout India, and should be a source of educational information and educational ideas for the provinces; but we think that its duties in the matter of education go further. It is concerned directly with the educational qualifications of the electorates for the legislatures and is therefore interested in taking steps to ensure that there should be compulsory primary education throughout India at the earliest possible moment. We have little doubt that the provincial governments will do their best to promote universal primary education within the limited means at their disposal. We are not in a position to form an estimate of those means, but there is at least a probability that some of the provinces will be unable to finance compulsory primary education from their own revenues. We, therefore, think that constitutional means should be devised to enable the Imperial Government to come to

[1] *Report*, p. 16.
[2] *Vide* p. 473, *supra.*

their aid and that the Government of India should not continue to be divested of all power to make central grants to provincial governments for mass education. In England special measures are taken to finance the education of necessitous areas and we think it desirable in the interests of British India as a whole that similar means should be taken in this country.

We do not suggest that either the main responsibilities for, or the control of, education should be re-transferred from the provinces to the Central Government. On the contrary, we hold that the conditions vary so much from province to province, that money on education will probably be spent more usefully if each province is mainly responsible for its educational policy. On the other hand, it is clear that if the Government of India assist a province in the matter of education they should have the right to assure themselves that the money so granted is spent properly for the purpose for which it is earmarked. This would not imply, in our judgment, detailed inspection and control, but it would imply periodical reports from officers of the Imperial Government, deputed for the purpose."[1]

3. **The Responsibility of the Provincial Governments in Educational Matters.** As matters stand at present, the responsibilities of provincial governments in educational matters are four, viz. :—

(*i*) Maintenance of an efficient education department for the purpose of directing, supervising and controlling the educational activities in the province ;

(*ii*) Maintenance of a few institutions of secondary, collegiate, professional and vocational education as 'models' to private enterprise ;

(*iii*) Payment of grants-in-aid to non-government educational institutions in accordance with rules framed for the purpose ; and

(*iv*) Indirect responsibility for primary education, the main responsibility for which has been laid upon the local bodies by the Primary Education Acts.

[1] *Report*, pp. 278-9.

(*a*) The responsibility of maintaining an education department was first created by the Despatch of 1854. Since then, the importance and strength of the department have increased along with the expansion of education.

Several problems regarding the constitution and organization of the education department that have been raised by the historical narrative given in the preceding chapters still await a solution. To begin with, it must be noted that the Indian Education Service is almost extinct. The posts gradually vacated by the I. E. S. officers have now been filled by officers of the Provincial Class I Service which has been organized in all provinces except Madras, where a 'Madras Educational Service' has been constituted for the purpose. The view has sometimes been expressed that the efficiency of the department has deteriorated on account of this change, and suggestions regarding the revival of an I. E. S. under some new name or form are already being discussed. Luckily this view is neither general nor, we think, well-founded. *Secondly,* the gradual elimination of the European personnel of the education department has also caused disquiet to a few and the Hartog Committee recommended the adoption of certain special measures to attract, *wherever necessary, the right type* of European recruits. *Thirdly,* the inadequacy of the Inspecting Staff is very often commented upon and all are agreed that the strength of the inspecting staff needs an immediate and substantial increase. *Lastly,* the guarantees given to members of the I. E. S. are already creating administrative difficulties. For instance, the Hartog Committee observed :—

"At present, under the orders of the Secretary of State, no post in the Indian Educational Service carrying a special

allowance can be filled by a member of the Provincial Service unless the Secretary of State is satisfied that there is no member of the Indian Educational Service competent to fill the post. In consequence of this order the post of Director of Public Instruction and the posts of Deputy Directors and Principals of Colleges will in the normal course always be filled by members of the Indian Educational Service until that service is extinct, or smaller in numbers than the total of such posts. The time is rapidly approaching when, for example, professors without administrative experience will be posted as Deputy Directors and the efficiency of administration will probably be impaired. Moreover, it is not possible even now to choose from the Provincial cadres competent inspectors of schools for superior posts in the headquarters offices with a view to completing their administrative training or to strengthen the headquarters administration."[1]

(*b*) Regarding the institutions directly conducted by the educational departments, it will be seen that the policy of Government has oscillated from one extreme to another.

Even as early as 1854, when only a few institutions were under the direct control of Government, the Despatch of 1854 talked of a withdrawal in favour of private enterprise. In spite of this, however, the next three decades saw a very rapid multiplication of the schools and colleges directly controlled by the Education Departments. The Indian Education Commission, 1882, again recommended the complete withdrawal of Government in favour of private enterprise under certain conditions. Although this policy was not acted upon, it succeeded in checking a rapid multiplication or expansion of departmental institutions. Between 1901 and 1937 Government gave up the idea of withdrawal and announced that it would maintain a number of educational institutions as models for private enterprise.

[1] *Report*, p. 339.

The idea of maintaining "models" is not seriously entertained at present and educational opinion is again swinging back to the view recommended by the Indian Education Commission. The concensus of opinion seems to be—

(*i*) That Government should not compete with private enterprise, and should withdraw from direct enterprise as soon as private effort comes forward to do the work which is being done by Government institutions; and

(*ii*) That the maintenance of models is costly and does not serve the purpose for which they were originally designed.

It would, however, be conceded that Government should not hesitate to open institutions in areas to which private effort is not attracted for some reason or other; nor should it hesitate to organize such types of educational institutions as are not opened by private enterprise. In those areas or fields of educational activity, it is the duty of Government to do all the pioneer work that is necessary.

(*c*) The third and most important responsibility of the provincial governments is that of finance, that is to say, the provincial governments have to find the money for (*i*) the cost of education departments, (*ii*) the maintenance of Government educational institutions and (*iii*) the payment of grants-in-aid to private educational institutions and the educational activities of local bodies.

Here, the position is unsatisfactory from several points of view. The following statistics of 1927, given by the Hartog Committee, show the striking variations in educational expenditure from province to province:—

Province	Total Revenue per capita of population	Total Educational Expenditure per capita	Govt. Educational Expenditure per capita	Percentage of Government Educational Expenditure to total revenue of the province
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Madras ...	3.5	1.07	.48	13.3
Bombay ...	7.5	1.97	1.02	13.6
Bengal ...	2.2	.85	.31	14.0
United Provinces ...	2.5	.74	.43	17.2
Punjab ...	5.2	1.39	.73	13.9
Bihar & Orissa ...	1.6	.52	.21	12.5
Central Provinces ...	3.6	.82	.51	14.2
Assam ...	3.2	.56	.33	10.2

Secondly, the finances of the provincial governments are distributed in varying proportions between the different items of educational expenditure as can be seen from the statistics for 1927 given on the next page.

Obviously, reform and reorganization is called for in two directions :—

(*i*) The total Government expenditure on education could be very substantially increased ; and

(*ii*) A far larger part of the total Government expenditure could be devoted to primary education, particularly in provinces other than Bombay.

(*d*) The responsibility of the provincial governments for primary education will be dealt with in the next section.

4. **The Responsibility of Local Bodies in Educational Matters.** A curious fact that emerges from an analysis of past history is that neither the Central Government nor the provincial governments in India have accepted full and direct responsibility for mass education.

Province	Direction and inspection	University education including arts and professional colleges	Secondary education	Primary education	Special institutions	Miscellaneous (building, equipment, hostel charges, scholarships, stipends, etc.)
Madras	3.7	9.7	19.8	37.7	9.8	19.3
Bombay	3.8	10.1	19.9	52.0	5.1	9.1
Bengal	3.9	22.2	32.3	17.0	8.1	16.5
United Provinces ...	3.9	16.6	23.0	24.9	5.4	26.2
Punjab	3.8	13.8	39.4	14.7	4.8	23.5
Bihar & Orissa ...	5.3	9.8	20.4	31.5	7.8	25.2
Central Provinces ...	4.8	7.1	23.9	28.7	5.0	30.5
Assam	7.5	8.5	29.9	25.5	4.3	24.3

In the first period, the educational policy of Government was dominated by the *downward filtration theory* and hence the question of accepting responsibility for mass education did not arise. The Despatch of 1854 abandoned this theory and directed that Government should make strenuous efforts to educate those who were unable to educate themselves. But when the question of financing the expansion of primary education came up, the Central Government refused to spare funds from its own revenues and directed the imposition of local rates and taxes. The problem of Government assistance to local funds was discussed for a long time and finally, in 1871, Government accepted the responsibility of aiding local bodies to the extent of one-third of the total expenditure—a principle that remained in vogue till 1904. It was Lord Curzon who declared, for the first time, that the responsibility for primary education should be placed on provincial revenues, but this policy did not last long. The Primary Education Acts of the period 1917 to 1927 generally fixed the responsibility for introducing and enforcing compulsory education on the local bodies only and delegated to them large powers of control and administration which were formerly vested in the provincial governments It will thus be seen that, barring the short interval between 1904 and 1917, the responsibility for mass education has all along rested with local funds and local bodies.

The historical development of the Primary Education Acts of today can be traced through four stages. The first stage was the levy of local rates and taxes for education in accordance with the Despatch of 1859. The second was the transfer of partial control of primary education to local bodies in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. The

third was the attempt of Mr. Gokhale to introduce the principle of compulsion. In order to meet the argument that the British Government, as a foreign Government, would not be able to enforce compulsion without arousing hostility or suspicion, Mr. Gokhale had only suggested that the *first steps in compulsion* may be taken by local bodies. But this background was lost sight of by later administrators who took Mr. Gokhale's bill too literally and, under the Primary Education Acts of the period 1917-27, fixed the whole responsibility regarding mass education upon local bodies and gave them large powers of control and administration. This was the fourth and final stage.

The major issues raised by this discussion are two, viz. :—

(*i*) On whom should the responsibility for mass education rest—the provincial government or the local bodies ?

(*ii*) Should the large powers given to local bodies by the Primary Education Acts be continued or curtailed ?

On the first issue, it will be generally agreed that adequate provision for mass education should be unequivocally laid down as the *duty* of provincial governments. In the old days when the elective element was not predominant in the constitution of the provincial government, the transfer of primary education to the local bodies was advocated on the ground that the people who had practically full control of local bodies were best able to know local requirements. Besides, it was also urged that they must learn to manage education. At present, however, the whole administration of the province is entrusted to an autonomous ministry responsibile to an elected legislature and this old argument has

ceased to have any force. The only consideration that weighs now is that of finance and, from that point of view, it is clear that the responsibility for primary education must devolve on provincial governments because they alone can hope to have the resources to 'foot the bill' for compulsory education.

As a corollary to the above, it follows that the powers given to local bodies by the Primary Education Acts will have to be curtailed. If the provincial Government is to be responsible for primary education, it must necessarily have adequate powers to fulfil that responsibility. We, therefore, entirely agree with the following view of the Hartog Committee:—

> "We have not suggested, nor do we suggest, that the responsibilities of Ministers in the provinces should be reduced. On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out of their hands, with unfortunate results. The relations between provincial governments and local bodies demand further consideration and adjustment. The formation of an educated electorate is a matter of the nation. Under recent legislation, powers have been devolved on local bodies in such a way that the Ministers responsible to the legislatures have no effective control of the expenditure of money voted for mass education; and in some cases, owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure. It is clear that the new factor of ministerial responsibility has not been taken sufficiently into account."[1]

5. **Conclusion.** We have, in the foregoing sections, discussed some of the important problems raised by the educational system developed in India. Besides the above, several problems of university, secondary, and primary education also await a solution. Most of these have, however, already been discussed earlier in this book.

[1] *Report*, p. 346.

For instance, questions regarding the incorporation of additional universities, the medium of instruction, the prevention of the influx into the colleges of unsuitable students, the dominance of examinations, the unsatisfactory development of professional and vocational education, the need for the proper organization of post-graduate teaching, the unsatisfactory condition of university finances in general, the growing unemployment among the highly educated youth of the country, the introduction of compulsory military training, etc., face us in university education. Similarly, problems regarding the introduction of vocational education at the upper secondary stage with a view to diverting most of the pupils into different walks of life, the preparation of special curricula for secondary schools for girls and for the rural areas, the dominance of the Matriculation, the extent and method of departmental and university control over secondary schools, the extent and methods of grants-in-aid, the training of teachers, the improvement of the finances of aided institutions, the improvement in the conditions of service and remuneration of teachers in aided schools including the question of making a suitable provision for their old age, etc., call for attention at the secondary stage. In the same way many problems of primary education also are awaiting an early solution. To mention a few, they are educational surveys; the organization of primary schools so as to cover every village of a reasonable size; the general education, training and remuneration of primary teachers; the early liquidation of adult illiteracy; the introduction and enforcement of compulsory education; the organization of a net-work of reading rooms and libraries; the prevention or reduction of wastage and stagnation; the

finance of compulsory elementary education; the adaptability of the curricula, vacations, and school hours to the needs and conditions of rural Indian life; and the provision of infant and nursery schools. Moreover, there are several other problems needing attention, such as female education, Muslim education, education of backward communities, education of the defectives and juvenile delinquents, physical education, and medical examination and treatment of school children. When it is remembered that even this list is not exhaustive but merely indicative, the variety, difficulty, and complexity of the problems of Indian education will be easily realised.

Obviously a detailed treatment of these *problems* is beyond the scope of this book. We would, however, close this review with a few general observations. *Firstly,* let it be noted that these problems of Indian education are interdependent and cannot be treated in an isolated manner. The attempts of Indian educationists, therefore, have to be directed first to the planning of a comprehensive scheme of national education which will enable India to attain and maintain an honourable place in the comity of nations. *Secondly,* it is evident that a far larger financial assistance to education has to come from Government revenues than has been given in the past. Education is the most important of all nation-building activities and educational expenditure should, therefore, form the largest single item in the budget of every Government. Some of the large additional funds needed for the reorganization of education in India may be found by economies here and there. But most of these, we fear, will have to be raised by additional taxation and the people must willingly shoulder this burden because taxation for

educational purposes is merely another name for a co-operative effort at self-improvement. *Thirdly,* the well-to-do classes of the country, such as the big landholders and commercial and industrial magnates, must be persuaded to endow educational institutions to a far greater extent than in the past. This additional assistance is absolutely necessary because the education of no progressive nation can be fully supported merely by taxes and rates, and much less so in a country like India where the poverty of resources is only equalled by the vastness of population. *Lastly,* we must have a large body of competent Indian educationists who can feel the pulse of the nation and, therefore, can confidently plan and execute schemes of educational reconstruction. We have depended too long and too exclusively on foreign experts in this matter, and the time has now come when India must depend upon her own sons and daughters to face and solve her educational problems. It is to this great task that the educational institutions of today must devote themselves in right earnest.

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